


HANDBOUND
AT THE



UNIVERSITY OF



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



1834m

19

MEMOIRS
OF
SIR JAMES CAMPBELL,
OF ARDKINGLAS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN AND RICHARD BENTLEY,
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1832

331262
9. 9. 36.

CT.

788

C23A3

v. 2

LONDON:

PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,

Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

MEMOIRS

OF

SIR JAMES CAMPBELL.

CHAPTER I.

Progress of the Author's Commission in the Ionian Isles.—
The Island of Corfu.—Popular commotion.—A singular character.—Handsome entertainment.—Turkish customs.—The Capize Baché.—The Turkish bow.—Character of the Greeks.—Female society.—Venetian and Turkish married ladies.—Seminaries of learning.—Amusing anecdote.—Marriage ceremonies.—Baptismal rites.—Receive fresh instructions.—Approbation of the Commander-in-chief.—General Pigott. — Tropical fruits. — Climate. — Wine. — Game.— Flights of birds.—Peculiarities of the Seven Islands.—A tale of jealousy.—Turkey in Europe.—General Lauriston.—Ferocity of the mountaineers.—The Suliotes.—Anecdotes.—Insubordination.—Methods of discipline and reform.

WHEN the government of Zante had in some degree been settled, and when external quiet had taken place of those quarrels and commotions which before my arrival had perpetually

was a wine-house, and the women were to be seen walking about the streets with their bosoms exposed to view. My immediate object was to prevent a repetition of the scene of slaughter. I pacified him with an assurance that the police of the town would be better attended to in future, and I prevailed on him to give the necessary orders for the immediate sailing of the Turkish ships.

It was suspected that the Capize Baché had been sent to Corfu for the purpose of watching the movements of the celebrated Ali Pasha, whose residence on the main-land was not far distant. Whatever was his errand, he lived while at Corfu in considerable state. After the disturbance created by the Turkish sailors had in some degree subsided, I went repeatedly to visit him, knowing he was not likely to exercise his official functions on my person, and found him to be a man of general knowledge and information superior to most of the Turks whom I had then known.

At the commencement of our acquaintance,

he gave me a very handsome entertainment. The number of the party was exactly twenty-four; five or six of them being English officers in attendance on me. Three different tables were set out, each of them raised about a foot from the floor. The usual number of eight persons was allotted to each table, and cushions were placed for them to sit on. The dinner was served in true Turkish style; knives, forks, or spoons, formed no part of the arrangements of the table; and I remember that a Turkish Molla who sat next to me was so obliging as to tear a piece of roasted meat for me with his fingers, having observed, I suppose, some indications of awkwardness in my manner of *handling* the viands.

I should have mentioned, that in the room adjoining to that in which we were to dine, and just before sitting down to table, a great number of servants attended us, each carrying a wash-hand basin of silver, a napkin, and a piece of Jerusalem soap. The basin is covered with a grating, and the servant pours water on

your hands from a ewer, the usual manner of performing this ordinary kind of ablution. The same ceremony was repeated after dinner. As soon as we were seated at table, the chief cook made his appearance very splendidly attired. He was followed by three servants, carrying three dishes composed of the same meats, one for each table. This first dish, I observed, was the roast. It was followed by others, to the number of forty or fifty ; one being always removed as its successor was brought in, and the master-cook regularly assisting in placing them on the table.

At a Turkish feast, the first and last dishes are always the same ; the first being the roast, and the last the pilau, which consists of boiled rice and fowls. Thus the pilau becomes the signal that dinner is concluded. While we were yet at table, the Capize Baché addressing himself to me, in very good Italian, observed, that he knew we must dine badly without our usual accompaniment of fermented liquors. He added, that he had them of every kind in the house, and that if we were so disposed, they

were very much at our service. I consulted my English friends on the subject, but they agreed with me in declining the obliging offer. We knew that his own liberality was sufficient to sanction such an infringement of the law of Mahomet, but we also knew that his giving countenance to the use of wine at his table, might be liable to misconstruction in the eyes of his numerous domestics, of whom there were not less than a hundred in constant attendance upon us.

When we had repeated our ablutions after dinner, we were presented in a separate apartment with pipes and coffee. After a certain interval, the Christian part of the company were requested to remain by themselves, while the Turks retired to another apartment of the suite to perform their evening devotions. The room allotted for this purpose was matted all over, and we could see the Turks kneeling down, with their faces directed towards Mecca, while they repeated the words of the prayer of Assera. They then returned to us, when we continued our smoking and our coffee until

the period arrived for our retiring for the night.

Next morning I received a present from the Capize Baché of several baskets, containing various kinds of wine, accompanied by a polite message that it was intended to make up for our privations of yesterday. I answered, that we had suffered no privation, but of course I accepted the present, and sent an equivalent in return.

I had afterwards opportunities of conversing with the Capize Baché on a variety of subjects, and found him very well instructed, not merely on ordinary topics, but in several of the exact sciences. He was also an excellent linguist; but this was rendered necessary by the nature of his duties, which required that he should be able to communicate in almost every language spoken by the subjects of the Porte. With all these advantages he was far from being free from prejudice. In speaking of arms, for instance, he contended for the superiority of the bow and arrow to the musket, and adduced a variety of arguments in support of his idea.

Above all he urged its lightness, and when I suggested the greater range of the musket, he said that that was a reason which could only weigh with a coward. He was so lame that he could not leave the divan on which he sat without pain and difficulty ; but in his zeal to convince me of my error, he called for his bow, and with it shot an arrow through the long range of apartments, desiring me to go and see if I thought it would have gone through a man's body. On my return I was forced to admit that in his hands it was a very powerful missile, as the arrow had entered a door with such force that I could not extract it. The Turkish bow is about three feet long ; its material is not of wood, but is a composition of sinews and other elastic substances curiously combined together. Before it is bent, the horns are turned outwards, in the direction opposite to that in which the bow is to be used, and in consequence of this inversion of the arc, its spring, of course, is just so much the greater. I was curious to see his manner of bending the instrument, for such was its apparent

intractability, that I was persuaded an untaught Hercules could not have adjusted the string to its place. The bow was put across his shoulders, with the string before him : he then brought up his knees in such a position as to be embraced by the string, and, pressing them forward, employed them as a lever, the most powerful perhaps which the human body furnishes, so as to force the bow to bend to the string. Even in this manner it seemed to require a great exertion to adjust it ; but at length, by a sudden jerk, the string came chuck into its place.

If I were called upon to give an opinion of the character of the Greeks in general, I should say that they are vain, petulant, and witty ; civil and fawning, hospitable, irreligious, and sanguinary. Such, in so many words, is the result of a pretty close observation of them for a good many years ; and I believe that it is in some measure confirmed by the writings of their oldest and greatest poet, as well as in the biographical productions of one who cannot be considered as less than the friend of their

country. If Homer and Plutarch have acknowledged some dark shades in the Greek character, I shall not be thought less just, or less friendly in my observations, because I have not been able to close my eyes to some grievous faults in the manners and habits of a people with whom our earliest ideas of taste in the fine arts and gallantry in the field are so intimately associated. With all their faults they are a very agreeable people to live with, they are always ready to oblige, and in their entertainments they affect a great deal of show and splendour. The lower classes of the rural population affect, and perhaps sometimes feel, a strong attachment to their superiors, and they are uniformly profuse in their professions of gratitude for any favour which may be done to them.

The manners of the female population of the Seven Islands are a singular compound of the Venetian and the Turkish; married ladies allow themselves to be sometimes seen by the male visitors of their husbands, but that part of the mansion which is appropriated to the

women of the family is never seen by strangers. Ladies of the better ranks are, I believe, in general exemplary in their attention to the domestic virtues; they govern their families with great care, and seldom or never change their servants. The children, as soon as they complete their seventh year, are sent for their education to public seminaries of learning, and the girls, when they return, are never seen by any but their own sex until the day of their marriage. A widow generally retires to a convent, where she enjoys the utmost freedom as to her mode of life, going out and returning as often as she will, and at all times enjoying the various society of the convent itself. The state of a widow is thus comparatively a very enviable condition among the Greek ladies.

As in some other countries, the Greek women are married at a very early age, and it seldom happens that the bride is seen by the bridegroom until they meet for the performance of the marriage ceremony. This perhaps would be best illustrated by one of the numerous instances which I had an opportunity of witness-

ing. A gentleman of some fortune had determined to marry, and having heard through the usual channel of some married female friend, that a young lady, with whose family he was disposed to connect himself, possessed the qualities which he thought desirable in a wife, such as, that she was handsome, well bred, and of a good temper, he made his proposals in form to the parents. When the necessary negotiations were completed, it only remained to fix the day and to invite the company to the wedding.

When we were all assembled in expectation of the appearance of the bride, and had waited for her with some degree of impatience, the bridegroom arrived in great haste, on the supposition that he had been too late; and never having seen the lady, he walked directly up to the head of the apartment, where two ladies, one of them a young married woman, were seated; and supposing, from her situation near to one of his own relatives, that she had been the bride, he approached her with great *empressement*, and deposited the marriage presents in her lap.

To his great mortification, as she was a very handsome young woman, she returned them to him, observing, that she was not the happy person. At this intimation he seemed a good deal startled, but the bride being just then announced, all eyes were turned upon her as she walked up with great dignity to the head of the apartment. As soon as she was seated, the bridegroom went up to her, and taking off her veil, put the presents into her lap, as the ceremony required. Unfortunately, the countenance was quite a contrast to the other, it seemed to be the plainest I had ever seen. Never, perhaps, was a man more completely taken by surprise; it was clear that, as to her face at least, he had been grossly deceived, and he gave expression to his feelings *à la Grec*, without any attempt at disguising them, walking about the room in a state of the greatest perturbation, and never even approaching the bride, who was thus left in a predicament not less awkward than his. The ceremony proceeded, notwithstanding. I do not pretend to

remember the details, but it was followed by music, dancing, and a supper.

The ceremony of baptism, like that of marriage, is attended with a great variety of forms, some of which I have reason to remember, from an incident which occurred at a christening at which I had been asked to officiate as godfather. In the middle of the room where the ceremony was to be performed, there was placed a basin of water of very large dimensions, round which the company, led by the priest, walked seven times in procession, chanting hymns all the while, and stopping at each round to hear a short prayer and to drink hippocras, or other liquor peculiar to the ceremony, the name of which I forget.

All this time the child was lying as naked as it was born, in a napkin, two ends of which were tied round my waist, and the other two it was necessary to support with my hands. At the seventh round, a long prayer was said by the priest or bishop who officiated. He then took the child from me and immersed it three times

in the font, keeping its head so long under water that I thought it in danger of drowning. Replacing it in the napkin, he made sundry genuflections, and concluded the ceremony with another long prayer; when the nurse, to my great relief, took the child from me, as, in the course of its entrance into the pale of the church, it had completely ruined a very handsome uniform which I wore on the occasion. To this annoyance was added a civil suggestion that my sponsorial duties included a gratuity to the nurse, and a present to the priest and his assistants, corresponding, I suppose, to the sense I might entertain either of his dignity or my own.

The Greeks seem to entertain a sort of instinctive horror of the ordinary emblems of mortality. They cannot bear to look upon a corpse, and their funerals are not attended by relatives or friends. Under every church there is a great vault for the reception of dead bodies, and the opening to it, after every funeral, is covered up as closely as possible, the interstices between the stones being filled up with geesh, a

sort of lime of the finest quality, and forming a cement like wax, well suited to the purpose. Before the interment, the body is laid out upon a bier, over which the priests in attendance continue to sing psalms and to pray until midnight, when it is carried by the attendants to the opening of this frightful charnel-house, and thrown among the general mass of mortality.

After the Commander-in-chief had gone to Egypt, I had seldom an opportunity of communicating with him, or of receiving fresh instructions, but I had ultimately the satisfaction to learn, that all that I had done in the government of the Islands was strictly in consonance with his own views, and met with his entire approbation. I was enabled also to make these islands of use to his Majesty's other possessions in the Mediterranean. Malta in particular stood in great want of fire-wood, a fact which was communicated to me by General Pigott, the Governor. I lost no time in supplying his wants, and besides many loads of fire-wood, I sent a considerable quantity of

another species of fuel which was probably new to him. It was no other than the stones, or bones, as they are called, of the olive, after the expression of the oil. It is a favourite kind of fuel, and for various culinary purposes it is greatly preferable to fire-wood, or even to charcoal.

Currants are the staple of Zante, as oil is of Corfu. These two are the principal of the Seven Islands, and the difference of climate between them is very remarkable. That of Zante is so mild as to produce all the tropical fruits, such as oranges, lemons, figs, and ban-yans, while at Corfu not one of them can be raised. This is said, and I believe it, to arise from the vicinity of Corfu to the high and cold mountains of Thessaly and Albania. Wine is made in Zante of good quality, and in very considerable quantities, but none whatever is produced in Corfu. Corinth gives its name to the great staple of Zante, from its being the place which first exported the small grape which we call the currant.

The mildness of the climate is exemplified

in rather a peculiar manner, by the contrivance which has been adopted for the detection of depredation on the fruit in the process of drying. The currants are laid out in large quantities, exposed to the influence of the sun, and a cloth is laid over them, out of which the name of the proprietor has previously been cut in large and legible characters. The name is then dusted over with flour, so as to leave it imprinted on the currants when the cloth is withdrawn, and I hold it to be complimentary to the morals of the people, when such a trifling precaution is considered a sufficient safeguard for so much valuable property. The stalks are carefully picked off before the currants are packed up for exportation, and it is probably in the process of drying that they receive the sandy particles which give so much trouble to our cooks.

The Seven Islands are not by any means plentifully supplied with game. The chief enjoyment for the sportsman is the small Barbary pigeon, which arrives in incredible numbers at a certain period of the summer.

Birds of passage, in general, are supposed to take their flight and to arrive in the first and last instance in a vertical direction, darting right up into the air, and descending from it so as to afford no definite indication of the place from whence they have come, or whither they are bound. The flights of pigeons which make their periodical appearance on the Ionian Islands, arrive with a rushing noise like a rocket, and the sportsmen, at the time when they are expected, conceal themselves in huts until their actual arrival.

As soon as the cloud makes its appearance, the sportsmen get out and fire away at the general mass, killing such numbers that they cannot be counted. They are supposed to come from the African coast, and if so, their flight must be amazingly rapid, as they arrive in excellent condition and very fat. It is certain, at least, that they come from a country where gold is produced, as I had an opportunity of proving by personal observation. I remarked that numbers of them had particles of sand sticking to their feet, which were

sometimes pellucid and generally glittering. I had some of this sand collected, spread upon paper and carefully analysed, when I ascertained that the result produced a considerable proportion of gold. Birds of passage probably drink immediately before setting out on their migration, and the aureous particles were probably brought down by some stream which must have passed through a country impregnated with the metal which is the object of such universal pursuit. This pigeon shooting is only to be had on the coast of the Islands. The sportsman gets out of his hut soon after day-break, and if so disposed, he may have constant work for the whole forenoon.

The Greek Islands, and indeed, all the Islands in the Mediterranean, have their houses near the coast strongly fortified, very much like those ancient habitations of the Scottish gentry called Peels, of which so many remains are still to be seen. These fortified houses are used by people of all ranks, residing near the coast, from the fear which is entertained of the

Barbary corsairs. When I was at one time in Sardinia, I remember two hundred people being carried off from a small island on the coast in a single night.

When the affairs of Zante and Corfu had been settled to my satisfaction, I made a progress to all the other Islands, but with them had comparatively little trouble.

Santa Maura is situated so very near to the coast of Asia Minor, and the intervening channel is so shallow in this tideless sea, that the inhabitants had frequently communicated their alarm, lest they should be attacked by the unruly population of the adjacent continent, through the caprice of their extraordinary chief Ali Pasha. In former times, a castle had been built for the protection of the strait, which was still capable of repair, and the people were very desirous that I should come to see it, in the hope that I might be induced to make it fit for the reception of a garrison. The town of Santa Maura is singularly situated, the half of it being built on piles, so as to admit of the water flowing under the houses. In the neigh-

bourhood is the rock from which Sappho took her celebrated leap.

I leave the reader to generalize and moralize if he will on the following little tale, which was told me by a lady at the table of a family of the first note in the Island of Santa Maura. The conversation having turned on jealousy, I was told that the master of the house had formed an unwarrantable attachment for a cousin of his own, and that his wife, on discovering it, had invited the lady to pay her a visit. My fair informant thus ended her statement, "We poisoned her, and afterwards we were very happy." — "Era envelenato e doppo a stato molto felice!"

I had several times occasion to visit the coast of that part of the continent, which is called Turkey in Europe. The towns in general may be said to consist of independent communities, as they are all strongly fortified, and did not acknowledge subjection to Ali Pasha, of whose power they were very jealous. The bravest of them, the Souliotes came to me begging for gunpowder; and as I had instructions to look

after Ali, I thought it my duty to supply them, as they would be a thorn in his side, and might probably find him employment in his own territories.

Albania, Thessaly, and Macedonia, indeed the whole country, from the Bocca de Catera to the upper parts of the Adriatic, has great natural capabilities for defence;—the surface is so mountainous and unequal, as to make it impossible to transport any kind of artillery. The Souliotes had long sustained themselves against Ali Pasha, and with the assistance which I was able to render them, joined to their great natural advantages, they were able to put all his power at defiance.

When the French General Lauriston, who, by the way, was grandson to the celebrated Law, of Lauriston, who imagined the famous South Sea bubble, and the Mississippi scheme, made a descent on this coast, he found the same difficulty with others in transporting his cannon, and was ultimately obliged to abandon the attempt. General Lauriston is well known as an excellent officer, but he was also a good and

kind-hearted man, at all times anxious to serve the English, and still more the Scotch. When afterwards a prisoner of war in France, I applied through him for leave to be exchanged. I have reason to believe that he did what he could to forward an object in which I had so deep an interest, but his efforts were finally unsuccessful in consequence, as he explained to me, of my education, and services as an engineer; a species of force which Bonaparte did not suffer to be exchanged, from the supposed superiority of the French engineers in numbers, as compared with the English.

The inhabitants of these mountainous regions are in general of a fierce and violent disposition, but quarrelsome and disunited among themselves. If they were somewhat more civilized, the strength of their country is such as to place them far above the need of being subservient to strangers. The principal towns are situated on the coast, and the character of their population is much more gentle and pacific in its nature. Ragusa, for instance, which was formerly an independent republic, but is now

absorbed in the Austrian dominions, although in apparent amity with the Montenegrins, or Black Mountain people of the vicinity, is not accustomed to repose much confidence in the good faith of its neighbours. The marketplace, where the towns-people and the Montenegrins meet for the purposes of traffic, is situated outside the walls, so as to be commanded by the guns of the two bastions, which overlook the esplanade, and the distrust of the people of Ragusa is such, that they will not permit their Black Mountain friends to approach the covered way with the goods which they bring for sale.

I had a corps of these Montenegrins, and another of Souliotes, whom I found, with proper management, to make very good and trustworthy soldiers. They must not be confounded, however, with soldiers in the sense which we are accustomed to apply to the term, that is, with men who have relinquished all pretensions to will, and who are considered the more valuable, in proportion as they approach in resemblance to a piece of mere mechanism. The

Montenegrian soldier is a man with arms in his hands, who submits to the orders of his superior, not because he feels himself bound to do it, but because he is so inclined. Coercion must not even be attempted with them, and the infliction of corporal punishment on the meanest of the race would be speedily followed with the most signal and unhesitating vengeance. It may, perhaps, have been discovered in the course of these pages, that my temper has always savoured of warmth and impetuosity, which, joined to my long service in the light troops, made the command of these daring and uncultivated mountaineers more easy to me than it might have been to a better soldier, or a wiser man.

Such was my confidence in them, that I had constantly three or four of my mountaineers in immediate attendance on me as a personal guard, and I am persuaded that their strong sense of duty, joined to their rude and resolute disposition, would have induced them to go to death in my defence. They had a virtue very rare among soldiers, of the strictest sobriety,

and indeed they are the only troops I ever served with who never drank. As to religion, I do not remember to have observed the slightest indication of it, and if they did worship the Deity in any form, it must have been in a manner singularly free from those ceremonious observances which are so often a substitute for true devotion.

As a farther illustration of the character of these mountaineers, and of their superior fidelity and trust-worthiness, I may mention what took place on the occasion of a mutiny among my Italians at Zante. I was fully persuaded of the necessity of checking the symptoms of insubordination by some act of promptitude and firmness. The mountaineers and Italians being both on parade, I walked up to the ringleader of the mutiny, and seizing him by the collar, pushed him suddenly among the Albanians, calling out to them at the same time, "*Matzata quel birbante,*"—"Put the scoundrel to death." The mountaineers had their arms raised to put the order in execution, but perceiving on the instant that no attempt was to be made at rescue

or revenge, I was spared the necessity for the effusion of blood, and afterwards found myself in safety to pardon the mutineer, although at the moment of my interference the affair had somewhat of a threatening aspect. I was certainly the only individual within hearing who understood a word of English, and I addressed the mountaineers in Italian, because my immediate object was to make myself intelligible to those who had countenanced the prisoner's act of insubordination.

After I had retired for the night, and was busily occupied with writing, the Albanian, whose immediate duty it was to be in attendance on my person, walked into my apartment with his arms in his hand, and addressing me with great gravity, beseeched that I should never attempt to treat any of his countrymen in the manner I had acted to the Italian in the morning. We are not Italians, he said, and are not to be governed by intimidation. He concluded by assuring me that he spoke in this manner for the love he bore me, and from the fear lest on any occasion I should hazard such an attempt

upon an Albanian; and as a testimony of his sincerity, he desired me to cross my thumbs, and with great solemnity he came to kiss this simple symbol of the cross.

At another time, some symptoms of mutiny appeared among the Albanians themselves. I have said that they were paid according to their individual merits, a higher rate being given to the veteran soldier, and to the stout, well-armed man, than to others. It was understood among them, from some indiscreet observation by one of the members of the Presidency, that it was in contemplation to reduce or to equalize their pay, measures which would have been resented as equally an insult and a breach of faith by those whom they were likely to affect. I was at one time seriously apprehensive that they would have risen upon the Presidency and plundered the town, but by assuring them after their own fashion that their customs would be respected, and that they would be severally paid according to the rates for which they had individually bargained with their own captains, I succeeded in restoring order and confidence among this peculiarly constituted body of troops.

CHAPTER II.

Fortification of the Island of Zante.—Affair of Egypt.—Singular visitors.—Spirited conduct.—Duke Andrea de Doria.—Lord Elgin.—Leave the Presidency of the Islands.—Address to the President.—Sail for Cyprus.—Aspect of the island.—Vernal season.—Excessive draught.—Fertility.—The Cypriots.—Jealous character.—Effects of arbitrary power.—Curious instance.—Turkish costume.—Sail for Latikea in an Arab vessel.—Tradition.—Wait for a caravan to cross the Desert.—The Arabs.—Travellers.—Preparations.—The English Consul.—The Bashaw.—A firman.—A Maronite Christian.

IN obedience to the orders originally given me by Lord Nelson, I had occupied a great part of my time in fortifying the harbour of Zante, and putting it in a defensible condition. For this purpose I had constructed a fortress, and erected several batteries, one of which was situated so as to command the usual and most con-

venient point in the bay for embarking supplies of wood and water. Before the harbour had thus been fortified, and previous to the period when the protection of Great Britain had been extended to these islands, the bay of Zante was exposed to the visits of every passing cruizer, for the purpose of obtaining supplies of wood and water, which were often taken without the ceremony of asking leave.

During the affair of Egypt, two Salletine rovers made their appearance in the bay, and sent two officers ashore with the rank of Sikh and Reis, to desire that the usual supplies might be sent to them. Some suspicion had been excited in my mind as to the quality of my visitors, and I desired to have an interview with them in the apartment of the Lazaretto constructed for the purposes of oral intercourse between persons under quarantine and the public at large. I inquired if they had any one on board the two ships but their ordinary crews, to which they answered in the negative. I then mentioned that I could not spare them the use of boats and water-casks from the shore,

an accommodation which such vessels were accustomed to enforce before the Islands had enjoyed the protection of the British flag ; but I said, that if they chose to warp their vessels to the point alluded to, which was within point-blank distance of my battery of long thirty-twos, their wants might be easily supplied.

This arrangement was agreed to, and at an early hour on the following morning a person was brought to me who had made his escape from one of the rovers during the night by dropping overboard and swimming ashore. He proved to be a Frenchman, whose object was to ask the assistance of the British Governor in obtaining the liberation of forty-five prisoners, chiefly Frenchmen and Italians, whom he described as in close confinement on board the two ships in the harbour. They had been originally made prisoners by the English in Egypt, and had been re-taken by the rovers in a neutral vessel on their return. They were naturally apprehensive of being either carried into slavery, or at least of being detained for the sake of extorting from them exorbitant ransoms.

As soon as I heard that the two commanding officers had returned to the Lazaretto, I went there to meet them with a very strong guard, and renewed my conversation with them in such a manner as to leave them in ignorance of the discovery I had made. In the course of the previous night I had also taken care that several vessels which lay between the rovers and the battery, should be hauled astern, so as to be out of the range of the shot. I began by telling them, that, as the Island was now under the protection of Great Britain, they could not have the supplies without paying for them. This produced some altercation, on which they proposed to return to their ships, but I observed that, before that could be permitted, I had another matter to settle with them. I then made them aware that I was well acquainted with all their proceedings; and as the prisoners on board belonged to the English, I insisted that they should be instantly restored to me.

They persisted, however, in denying the fact, and I then carried them into the battery to

which their vessels, now warped into the watering-place, were exposed, and showed them the furnaces and the red-hot shot in readiness for action. They were of course immediately sensible of the nature of their situation ; and seeing the sort of person they had to deal with, they made a virtue of necessity, and consented to set their prisoners at liberty. A strong-built British frigate might perhaps have safely disregarded such a threat as I held out to the rovers, but they were perfectly aware that their slender and fragile barks would have been speedily annihilated by the red-hot shot.

I had thus the satisfaction of receiving on shore, and providing for the wants of some forty-five individuals of the French army, several of them being gentlemen of very considerable rank. Among their number was the Duke Andrea de Doria, a Neapolitan nobleman of high character and distinguished descent. The fear of infection induced me to leave the baggage of the liberated captives by way of *douceur* to the Turks, so that on their coming ashore they found themselves in want of every

thing; but I took care that they should be liberally provided with all that they required, and the Duke de Doria, on behalf of himself and his fellow-captives, gave me a draft for the amount on the Marechal Lannes, then commanding on the opposite coast, which was afterwards duly honoured.

Before leaving the island, the gentlemen whose liberation I had thus been the means of achieving, were pleased to present me with an address, in which they spoke in very flattering terms of the service I had been able to render them; and I have reason to believe that it was in consequence of the opportunity which I took, when afterwards a prisoner of war, of causing this address to be brought under the notice of the Emperor Napoleon, that I received so many marks of attention from several members of the Imperial Government.

The fortifications of which I have spoken were not completed for less than 30,000*l.*; but here, as in every instance where I have had occasion to superintend the expenditure of public money, I made it a rule that a separate officer

should be appointed, whose business it was to make the disbursements, and keep the necessary accounts; and I refer to the archives of the Presidency for the truth of what I have said.

Soon after the Peace of Amiens in 1802, I received a letter from Lord Elgin, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, informing me, that, in consequence of the general pacification, his Majesty was to withdraw his protection from the Ionian Republic, and to leave the inhabitants under their own form of government. On receiving this communication, it only remained for me to haul down the English colours wherever they had been hoisted, and to withdraw myself from the islands; but before my departure, I thought it my duty to prepare a memorial, of which I sent duplicates to the Commander-in-chief, and to the Secretary of State, detailing a variety of reasons which appeared to me to establish the propriety and advantage which would mutually result to Great Britain and to the Republic, by the continuance of his Majesty's protection. And it is

very satisfactory to me, that the reasons which I then submitted to the Government, have since been acted on, by the keeping of Malta, as well as by the renewal of the British protection to the Ionian islands.

When I finally took leave of the Presidency, I received a statement from them, also in the form of an address, expressive of their regret at the resolution of his Majesty's Government, and assigning a variety of additional reasons why their connection with Great Britain should be allowed to continue. They offered to pay the whole expenses of the Government, and to have dealings with no other country but this, provided only that they enjoyed the protection of the British flag. They concluded their address in terms of personal civility to me, assuring me of their regret at my departure, and of the peace and happiness which the islands had experienced under my administration of the laws, according to the benign principles of the British Constitution.

At the same time they presented me with a sword and cane, both mounted with gold, the

value of which, although inconsiderable in itself, was greatly enhanced by the expressions of attachment with which the gift was accompanied, as well as by the circumstance of the presents being exact fac-similes of those which the Presidency had previously given to Lord Nelson. Unfortunately I lost them both, when afterwards taken prisoner by the French. The inscription on the sword was to the following effect:—"The Presidency of the Ionian Republic to His Excellency James Callander, Baron of Craigforth, and Commander-in-chief of the Forces of the Republic."

After I had thus restored the command of the Seven Islands, I began to consider how I could best, or most usefully employ my own time in a season of peace. Partly induced by a curiosity to see more of Eastern countries, and partly with a view to benefit my health, which had not for some time been very robust, I resolved, before returning to England, to make a journey into Syria, from which I was not very far distant; but when I adopted this idea, the result which the journey was to have

on my future interests, and the train of circumstances which arose out of it, were, of course, never present to my thoughts.

At Zante I engaged a trader to carry me to Cyprus, where I arrived after an expeditious and delightful voyage. Of a country so well known as Cyprus, I shall be excused for sparing the description. The circumstance which is most striking to a stranger, particularly to a visitor from the cloudy regions of the North, is the great disadvantage which they suffer from the want of rain and moisture. In the course of the last century there was one continuous period of thirteen years, during which the island never experienced the benefit of a single shower. In the season of spring, the country has, nevertheless, a verdant and agreeable aspect, and the heavy dews which occasionally fall, in general, produce at that delightful season of the year a most luxuriant vegetation.

Indeed I am fully persuaded, that if the island had the advantage of a government under which the inhabitants could be assured

that they would reap the fruits of their industry, and enjoy even a moderate share of personal liberty, there is scarcely any production which, with all its disadvantages of excessive drought, it could not be made to produce. But so long as it remains under the yoke of Turkey, at least so long as it continues to be made the temporary patrimony of a Capudan Pasha, who takes from the wretched inhabitants, not what they can spare, but what they *have*—in such a state of things it is not wonderful that the efforts of industry should be paralysed, since for the chief as well as for the slave there may truly be said to be no to-morrow.

In saying that the island might be made to produce whatever is necessary for the use of the inhabitants, I say no more than is perfectly justified by its former productions, under a better state of things. Nicotia, its ancient capital, is now a wretched place, nor is any thing to be found in it which may not be had at any of the villages. The place where the principal trade is carried on is Larneca. There

some merchants are suffered to become rich and even opulent, but none of them are Cypriots. In general, they are Jews from the Levant.

While I remained at Larneca, I was lodged in the house of a wealthy man, who was at least suspected of being a Jew, but as that would have afforded a pretext to the Turkish authorities, he carefully concealed his lineage; and the better to effect that object, I found the first dish produced at his table was a soup the chief ingredient of which was the flesh of an animal regarded as unclean by the law of Moses.

Another dish was produced at his table, which could not, in a moral or religious sense at least, be considered offensive to either Christian or Jew. It consisted of ortolans, served in great quantity in the oil in which they are preserved. The ortolan is so very rich as to melt in the mouth like jelly; and when eaten for the first time, with a due proportion of the wine of the island—the richest without exception of all the vinous tribe—it generally

proves too much for any ordinary stomach to retain. Such, at least, was the case with me on my first acquaintance with these luscious condiments in too close a combination ; but afterwards, through the influence of habit, I became perfectly reconciled to them. The ortolans are preserved in large jars, which, after receiving as many of the birds as they will contain, are then filled up with oil, and in that way the ortolans will keep for several years, being in general served up without any culinary preparation.

If the women of Cyprus are the descendants of the Paphian damsels of old, they are sadly fallen off in their appearance. The most elegant women who now reside on the island are the Jewesses. My landlady was a descendant of that persecuted race, and a very beautiful woman, although addicted to fits of passion and violence which no provocation could justify. She suspected her husband of an intrigue with a female shopkeeper of the town ; and as soon as she had satisfied herself of the truth of the report which had reached her ears, she went

to the woman, without saying a word to her husband or any one else, and having taken a dagger with her, she upbraided the woman with her guilt, and immediately stabbed her to the heart. This was probably in consonance with the manners of the country, since no notice whatever was taken of it by the authorities of the place. It is not to be wondered at that the women of the native population, of the race of peasantry at least, should be coarse and ill-favoured in their faces and persons, since they are compelled, as in other semibarbarous nations, to the performance of all the labours of the field.

The island abounds with serpents and other noxious animals, arising probably from the great scarcity of rain; and to guard against their attacks, the legs of the female peasants are universally cased in boots, which are always of a yellow colour.

The houses of the Cypriots are built of mud mixed with straw; and from the carelessness of their construction, they would look like so

many heaps of mud, if it were not for the windows, which are of glass. The houses of the most respectable inhabitants are composed of the same rude materials, in consequence of their apprehension of danger from earthquakes, which are not uncommon. The only difference is, that the better sort of houses are larger and more commodious; indeed some of them are raised to a height of two and even three stories.

The greatest modicum of liberty is accorded to the merchants, because without some moderate degree of freedom they could not amass the treasures out of which the Capudan Pasha is accustomed to levy contributions at his pleasure; and it may be permitted to observe that the whole Government of the island presents a most hideous and revolting picture of the consequences which arise from the practice of arbitrary power. Indeed, the only virtue of which I could perceive any satisfactory evidence, was the habitual and pervading influence of filial piety, of which it would be easy to

adduce a variety of remarkable instances. One occurred to myself which struck me very forcibly.

A Cypriot servant having committed some offence of a nature which called for the demonstration of my displeasure,—at a moment when I was out of doors with a gun in my hand, I presented it to him, without of course any other idea but that of intimidation, which was indeed completely verified. But such was the abject state of debasement to which he had been reduced by long habits of bondage, and such the strong attachment which he bore to his parents, that in place of offering any resistance, as an English hind would have done, he simply exclaimed in accents of the most perfect resignation to his fate—“Alas! alas! my poor father and mother!” Yet this very man was far from being destitute of a strong feeling of attachment to his superiors; for, some time afterwards, when about to leave me, he threw himself on the ground, and kissed the hem of my garment, to testify his feelings of regard and devotion.

By those who have not been accustomed to the use of the Turkish habit, it is generally regarded as cumbersome and inconvenient; but after an experience of several years, I can only say that I did not find it so. The Greeks, in general, are not permitted to wear the Turkish dress, but those engaged in merchandize have found it their interest to purchase the privilege from their Moslem masters. But no firman is ever given them to wear the turban, although other Christians are not disturbed in the use of it. During my residence in Turkish countries, I generally wore a white one, which indicates rank. Those worn by the common people are red, and the descendants of Mahomed are distinguished by a green turban. Some idea may be formed of the quantity of stuff which is required in making even the lower garments of the Turkish dress, when I mention that a Greek servant of mine had a complete suit made out of a single pair of breeches. They are so contrived as to include and cover up the long tails of the upper garment when occasion requires, as in travelling;

and over the whole a large sash or shawl is worn, many of them of the most expensive kinds.

After a short stay at Cyprus, I sailed for Latikea, the nearest point of the continental coast, in a real Arab vessel. The crew consisted of four or five Arabs, the Reis or master himself being one ; and we made the voyage in safety, although there was not even a compass on board. The town of Latikea, which is known to have been the Laodicea of the ancients, is remarkable for the numerous ruins which surround it, and by which it is marked as having been formerly of very great extent.

If tradition may be credited, the sea must have made considerable encroachments on this part of the coast. Among other proofs of it, there is a singular square tower, built of alternate blocks of white and black marble, all precisely square, and arranged with the greatest regularity, in the manner of a chessboard. This tower is at present surrounded by the sea, but it is said to have formerly stood on dry land, at a considerable distance from the shore.

The mortar employed in its construction is of the kind still used by the Moors, which so completely identifies itself with the other materials, that it is easier to break two stones together, than to separate them at the joints of the building. This is strikingly exemplified in some of the ancient Moorish fortifications at Minorca, where I have seen the whole side of a castle tumble down and remain unbroken.

Around the town of Latikea the extensive ruins are certainly of great antiquity, and many of them of very curious construction; but I had not the necessary leisure, nor, I fear, any portion of the antiquarian lore which was necessary for their examination with the care and attention which they deserved. If you employ a cicerone, he must either be a Greek or a Turk; and when you arrive at any thing magnificent or stupendous, it is ascribed by the one to the influence of the Virgin Mary, and by the other to the wonder-working hand of the Caliph Haroun Alraschid.

I was detained for some time at Latikea waiting for a caravan to cross the desert. In

Syria the land may be said in many places to be a desert; not from any sterility in the soil, which is almost every where composed of a remarkably rich black loam, and in the early part of the year is covered with verdure, but simply from the want of inhabitants, or at least of any fixed or permanent population. In traversing such a country as this, it is necessary to assemble in sufficient force to repel the attacks of marauders. The quality of the soil, and its capability of yielding a great variety of valuable productions, joined to the extensive ruins which are every where to be seen, impressed me strongly with the conviction that in ancient times, when Sylla raised his legions among the inhabitants of Syria, it must have been much more populous than it is at present.

There is a class of persons among the Arábs who make it their business to supply the caravans with camels for carrying the travellers' baggage and provisions. The person entrusted with the charge of the camels, and who is generally also their proprietor, is called the Mockra

of the caravan. It is his province to regulate all the details of the journey, the hour of starting, the time allowed for stoppages, &c. He is of course an Arab, and is generally civil, sedate, and trust-worthy. Before departing, the whole caravan is mustered by the Mockra, each person is asked whether he is a fighting man, and whether he is supplied with the means of defence, so that if the caravan should be attacked he may know what he has to depend upon.

It is usual on the day of departure to make but a short stage, and there to rest for the night, in order to collect as many of the people as may not have been prepared for the journey at the moment of setting out, as well as to complete the other arrangements, and put every thing in order.

The gentleman who acted as English Consul at Latikea, was by birth an Italian, and from him I received many flattering attentions. I was also treated with marked distinction by the Bashaw of the town, and indeed I generally

remarked that all Turks of respectable station, who were accustomed to intercourse with strangers, were uniformly civil and attentive to them. A favourite attendant of the Bashaw, not perhaps exceeding twelve years of age, was frequently seen with a train of inferior domestics, parading the streets of the town, distributing alms to the people; and although the boy was known to be the son of a water-carrier, yet, in consequence of the situation which he held in the family of the Bashaw, and which in colder climates would no doubt be thought rather equivocal, he was uniformly treated with the greatest deference and respect by the populace of Latikea.

On the eve of my embarking at Cyprus for Latikea, an application was made to me by a person attired in European costume, and who spoke very good French and Italian, for a passage to the continent in the little Arab vessel I had engaged. Having agreed to carry him, he afforded me some idea of the rapacity of the government under which he lived, by asking me before landing to take charge of a group

of sequins which he had with him, amounting, perhaps, to five hundred, as he would certainly be searched on his arrival and robbed of at least a part of his wealth, while he knew that I should be protected from scrutiny or maltreatment by the firman which I had procured from the Grand Seignor, by which the Turkish authorities were commanded to respect my person, and expedite my journey in the territories of the Porte.

I consented to take charge of the money, and was surprised to find that he did not return for it for several days after our arrival at Latikea. When he did make his appearance, I had some difficulty in recognizing him from the change which he had made on his dress. In place of the round hat and the close-cut coat of the European, he was now attired in the little red cap and the ordinary costume of the Greeks. He told me that his father was a merchant of Latikea, who had correspondents at Leghorn and Marseilles, to whom he had been sent for the purpose of acquiring a more general knowledge of business, and of enabling him to con-

duct the future correspondence of his father's house in the languages of France and Italy, with which their chief intercourse was carried on.

After all the anxiety he discovered for the safety of his money, he was not aware how near he was to the loss of life itself. Soon after his visit to me, he was seized with an illness which some suspected to be the plague, but as I had conceived a feeling of kindness for the young man, I went notwithstanding to see him, and found that he was considered in great danger. The diseases of warm climates are in general too violent to be of long continuance, and in fact the young man died before my departure from Latikea.

The Mockra of the caravan, although an Arab by birth, was a Maronite Christian of the sect called Druses, who are supposed to be named after the celebrated Count de Drus of the Crusades. Yet, although himself professing the Christian religion, it was necessary for him, as the conductor of a Turkish caravan, to observe some of the ceremonies of

the Mosleman faith ; and I may observe of the Turks in general, that they are uniformly attentive and even scrupulous in the discharge of their religious duties. Our journey from Latikea was accordingly commenced by the Mockra's repetition of the morning prayer.

CHAPTER III.

Description of Caftini.—Moral Phenomenon.—Priests.—Mollahs and Missionaries.—Arab customs.—Anecdote.—Female Curiosity.—An Adventure.—Arab Tribes.—Journey to Aleppo.—Its Wealth and Magnificence.—Society and Ceremonies.—Residence at the British Consul's.—Pleasant dilemma.—Public Gardens.—Delightful retreats.—Ludicrous incident.—Curious fish.—The Porcupine.—River, Houses, and climate of Aleppo.—The modern race of Abraham.—The Rabbis.—Books of the Old Testament.—Jewish Opinions.—The Dutch Consul.—The Sheik.—Caravans.—Payment of dues.—Dish of ceremony.—Obligation of an oath.—Fast of the Ramadan.—Remarkable character.—Hospitable Robber.—Continue our route.—Styles of Architecture.—Arab girl.—Peculiar customs.—Travellers.

AFTER about three days travelling, we arrived at a large village called Caftini, which the Mockra told me was his native place, and there we remained for three or four days.

What chiefly struck me at this place, was a sort of moral phenomenon, of which I have not met with a parallel, either in books or in the world at large. They had no received or recognized form of religion, and it was an established law of the place, that no person should be permitted to teach the forms or tenets of any faith whatever.

I was induced to make some enquiry into the cause of so remarkable a regulation, and was informed that the inhabitants had been visited in succession by Catholic priests, by Turkish mollahs, and by missionaries from the sects of the Maronites, who had inspired them with such a spirit of discord and dissension, as to overturn the good understanding which had formerly existed among the different families of the village, and even to excite feelings of bitterness and hostility among the individual members of the same domestic circle.

In consequence of these broils and differences, the elders of the town interfered for the purpose of restoring the harmony and good-will which had previously existed, and to accom-

plish this object, they adopted the extraordinary resolution of banishing all the priests, molahs, and missionaries, including the teachers of religion of every denomination, and declaring it penal for the future to attempt to make proselytes to any particular faith, or by arguments or otherwise to hold out inducements to others to change their religion. No individual was to be prevented from holding any tenets he might think fit. He was only forbidden to declare his sentiments to others, or to disturb the general peace by any approach to religious controversy. This state of things had existed for thirty years before my visit to Caffini, but I have not since had the means of informing myself whether it still continues, or whether the Sultan permits such an anomaly to exist in the dominions of the Porte.

On our approach to the place, my curiosity was excited by the appearance of three large buildings, which at first I mistook for churches, but which I afterwards ascertained to be mere pigeon-houses, erected on a scale of extraordinary magnitude. I was informed that at

certain seasons of the year, the inhabitants of the town had no other food but pigeons and rice, which, when continued daily, is, I have reason to believe, an insipid and even nauseous diet. The pigeon-houses are the common good of the town, and each family receives a daily allowance, corresponding to the number of its inmates. The pigeons are eaten during a period of three months, immediately preceding the time when the lambs come into season, and during the remainder of the year the inhabitants subsist on the produce of their flocks, which are very numerous and extensive.

Among the Arabs, I think I have observed that they uniformly abstain from the use of fish; indeed I have often been told that they are thought to be unwholesome, and in the course of this journey we travelled for several days along the banks of a river, which evidently abounded in fish, but they were wholly disregarded by the people of the caravan. At the village of Caftini, a fish of any kind would have been considered as a natural curiosity, and as antelopes and other wild animals are rare,

they may be said to subsist exclusively on their sheep, their pigeons, and their rice. The neighbourhood of Caftini may be said to be a pastoral country, but the cultivation of their rice requires also the attention of the husbandman.

While the men are engaged in the duties of the field, the women are left at home to attend to their domestic concerns; but as in other Eastern countries, they are so completely domesticated as to be seldom seen beyond the precincts of their own dwellings, and never without being so enveloped in their dress, as to make it impossible to recognize the person of your nearest neighbour or relation. But curiosity is a passion which seems to be common to the sex in every quarter of the world, and of this I had a striking instance during my short stay at Caftini. Each house of the town had an inclosure of its own, and opposite to that of the Mockra's where I was lodged, I observed a woman who eyed me with evident marks of curiosity, as I was placing a common bottle on the window-sill of my apartment. It struck

me that the bottle might to her be a novelty, and on holding it up to ascertain if my guess had been right, she made me understand by signs that she wished me to give it to her. To this I readily agreed, and she seemed to find in it an object of the greatest wonder and admiration. The Arabs in general would have thought it unclean from its having belonged to a Christian, but, in her case, curiosity got the better of prejudice, and she went into her house, as I understood, to hide it there.

After leaving Caftini, I was induced on one occasion to ride out about a mile in advance of the caravan. I should have stated before, that the men are all mounted on horseback, the women on asses; but so muffled up as not to allow themselves to be seen or recognized. Finding myself alone in the midst of an extensive plain, I chanced to look about me, and found that a number of my own immediate domestics were hastening after me as fast as they could. I halted, of course, to ascertain the cause of their haste and apparent anxiety, when they pointed out to me in the distance, at

the very verge of the horizon, four or five detached individuals, who seemed to be dismounted and leading their horses. These persons were described to me as of the Courdine race of Arabs, whose trade it is to watch the progress of the caravans, and to look out for stragglers, whom, if they are able to overpower, they never hesitate to rob and murder. The Courdines are considered the most dangerous of the Arab tribes, and my horse and arms would probably have presented a sufficient temptation to induce them to attack me, if I had not been interrupted in my wanderings by the care of my trusty followers.

When we had approached within a day's journey of Aleppo, a gentleman came out to meet the caravan, dispatched by the European residents, to announce to me that the Consuls from the different States of Europe, and the other Christian inhabitants, were to be in waiting at a church or monastery, about two miles from Aleppo, to conduct me into the town. This mark of respect was not peculiar in my case, but is, I understood, pretty generally

paid by all the European inhabitants, without distinction, to any respectable member of this great community of nations, from motives of policy, and to inspire the natives with an idea of their union, and with a respect for the Christian body in general.

The arrival of a European is indeed a rare occurrence, and is consequently regarded as a circumstance of note. When we approached the monastery, I rode out with the gentleman who had come to me as the deputy of the general body of Europeans, and found a great cavalcade of at least an hundred persons, arranged in processional order, to conduct me into the town. When we were about to join them, the whole body dismounted, and I was presented by the English Consul, for whom I had the necessary introductions, to the other European Consuls, and to the chief of those who composed the Christian cavalcade. In compliance with an Eastern custom, we first took coffee, prepared on the spot, then smoked a pipe, and afterwards proceeded to the city. In our progress we passed a kiosk which looked very handsome,

and on enquiring to whom it belonged, I was told it was the summer-house of the Pasha of Aleppo, who had come out with his women to see the procession.

Aleppo may be considered as the great emporium of the interior of the East. It is singularly situated on a river which rises out of the sands of the desert, and again loses itself in a sort of swamp or marsh, a few miles below the town. The population is estimated at 300,000 souls, of whom the great majority are Turks; and Aleppo is chosen as a favourite place of residence for people of rank and opulence, not merely from its natural advantages, but from its great distance from the seat of empire, which brings them less under the notice, or the caprice, of an arbitrary government. The ground on which the town is situated must have been originally a sort of oasis in the desert. The stream which passes through it, and gives it all its value and all its beauty, is clear and bright, and its banks are ornamented with gardens and shady groves,

which are always open to the respectable inhabitants.

From the number of wealthy individuals residing in Aleppo, the town has acquired an air of grandeur and magnificence which readily recalls the idea we are so apt to form of Oriental splendour; but in consequence of the grave and solemn deportment by which the Turks are so much distinguished, there is nothing like gaiety to be seen in the very limited intercourse which the native inhabitants maintain with one another. The visits of the men take place so seldom, that they can only be considered as meetings of ceremony. It is different indeed, with the women; but when a lady proposes to pay a visit to a female friend, it is necessary to announce her intention on the previous day, that the master of the house and all the male inmates of the family may be out of the way. When the lady sets out to pay the visit which she has previously announced, she is preceded by her janizary, who, with a stick shod with iron, presents himself at your

door, and gives three or four knocks on the opposite pavement, as a renewal of the notice to the male part of the family to retire.

During my stay at Aleppo, I resided in the house of the British Consul, who, although an Englishman by birth, had married a native of the country. He was very civil and attentive to me, and I enjoyed a great deal of comfort under his roof. On one occasion, however, I subjected myself, from the impulse of a pardonable curiosity, to rather an irksome degree of restraint, in consequence of the announcement of a visit to the Consul's lady from the daughter of the Pasha. I asked leave to retire to the roof of the house, in the hopes of seeing the fair visitor and her train of attendants, in the course of the perambulation which I understood they were accustomed to make through all the corners of the mansion.

I was previously warned, indeed, that if I chose to adopt this resolution, I must content myself to remain on the roof during the whole course of the visit, however long it might last, but I certainly did not reckon on its continuing,

as it did, for three or four hours. The only place where I could find a peep-hole was over the cooking-apartments, and there I had an opportunity of seeing that the young lady was about eighteen years of age, and rather good-looking, but certainly not what we should call handsome. She was elegantly and very richly attired, and discovered the greatest curiosity in inquiring into the use of every thing she saw. In conformity with the customs of the country, the lady of the mansion had prepared a repast for the entertainment of her visitor, consisting principally of fruits and sweetmeats, and had invited several of her female friends to do honour to the visit of so distinguished a guest. On leaving the house, she distributed presents of considerable value among the female inmates of the family, in conformity with a custom which seems to be universal in Eastern countries of the perpetual interchange of presents. In this instance they were estimated to amount to above 200*l.* in value.

At length, to my unspeakable satisfaction, I received the announcement that I was at liberty

to return to the shelter of the house from the scorching heat of the sun, which in such a situation was much more intense than can well be appreciated by the inhabitants of our northern latitudes.

The public gardens in the neighbourhood of Aleppo have not much resemblance to what we are accustomed to distinguish by the name which I have applied to them for want of a better. The river of Aleppo, which is here about thirty or forty feet broad, and seven or eight feet deep, passes through these gardens, which makes them comparatively cool and pleasant. They are besides plentifully stocked with fruit trees and other shady and ornamental plants, and there are houses scattered through them which may be taken by families or individuals for the season.

As I have already said, the gardens themselves are open to every body, and there the Turks, both male and female, are seen to resort in groups or parties, each in general consisting of a single family. They bring carpets with them to sit upon, and refreshments wherewithal to enjoy

themselves—coffee, sherbet, and tobacco—these, particularly the first and last, being the prevailing and indispensable ingredients at every Turkish entertainment, and indeed at almost every interview where Turks are present. These gardens may be said to be almost a perpetual source of enjoyment, as winter is scarcely known at Aleppo, and the cold is seldom so severe as to forbid the enjoyment of the open air.

Scenes are constantly occurring which to a stranger at least are exceedingly pleasant ; and it may be doubtful whether their enjoyment would be increased even if the ladies who go there were to oblige us by showing their faces. I recollect an instance which struck me from its novelty as singularly ludicrous. I had gone to the gardens with the family of the Consul, and after we had seated ourselves on our carpet, there came a party, consisting obviously of a Turkish gentleman, with two of his wives and their attendants, who squatted themselves close beside us. The gentleman was an elderly person, of rather a dignified deportment, and while the servants were making coffee for them,

the two ladies had a dispute, in which they seemed to be both exceedingly noisy and loquacious.

At length, when they had ceased to abuse one another, the younger of the two turned towards the gentleman, and began a volley of the most opprobrious epithets; stopping at the end of every sentence to ask the other lady for a corroboration of what she had said; and the elder of the two, although just before engaged in so warm a controversy, never hesitated to second what her younger neighbour advanced. At that time I was not sufficiently acquainted with the language of the country to understand all that was said, but I was informed by those who were with me, that the observations of the two ladies were of a nature both singular and provoking.

The Turk, however, maintained his taciturnity and composure, and after he had listened for at least an hour to the tirade which was addressed to him, he got up with great deliberation, and observing that the coffee was very good, he walked quietly away, the ladies fol-

lowing, and their attendants bringing up the rear. But although thus patient with women, from a consideration probably of the inferiority in which they are held in the scale of intellect, the Turks are far from being passive under any thing like personal provocation. It is probable, on the contrary, that if a tythe of what was advanced by the two ladies had been hinted at by a person of his own sex, the result would have been extremely different.

In the river of Aleppo there is a species of fish which I have never seen described, and which to me, at least, was new and anomalous. The head is like that of a pike, but strange to say, the tail is wanting, the ordinary length being about a foot. On the banks of the river the porcupine is found in great abundance, and its flesh is regarded by the inhabitants as a very great luxury, an opinion in which I am perfectly disposed to concur. The ordinary weight of the porcupine is from eight to ten pounds, and the flesh eats very much like lamb, if you could suppose it larded with bacon. Its habitation is in holes of considerable

extent on the banks of the river, and when brought to market they cost as much as half-a-crown a pound.

The town of Aleppo may be said to have been produced by this extraordinary river, on which it certainly depends for its present existence, receiving from it as it does a plentiful supply of water, in a country where the value of a common spring is estimated so highly. What a revolution would it make if this little river were, by some convulsion of Nature, to alter its course, or to seek, as it does elsewhere, some subterraneous channel. We might then see an instance, of which I think I have seen more than one parallel in other parts of the east, of a town being deprived of its supplies of water, and left in its ruins as a monument of the presence of a former race of inhabitants.

The houses of Aleppo are uniformly covered with flat roofs, on which the inhabitants sleep in the open air, without other bed-clothes than their ordinary garments. The climate is such at all seasons of the year that fires are unknown, excepting for culinary purposes, and

the houses in general are not even supplied with chimneys.

Several of the European Consuls at Aleppo were of the race of Abraham, and at the house particularly of the Austrian Consul, who was by birth an Italian, I had frequent opportunities of meeting with Jews of the highest respectability. Pechotto himself, the Imperial Consul, was a most generous, benevolent, honest-hearted man, and it was his ambition to entertain those individuals of his nation who were most distinguished for their learning and erudition. With such persons I was sometimes induced to talk on the subject of those books which we are accustomed to distinguish by the name of the Old Testament, and if their account of the matter was to be adopted, they would cut down our canon of Scripture to a very narrow compass.

The books ascribed to their great lawgiver, including the account of the creation, and, indeed, all the books professedly antecedent to the Babylonish captivity, they reject as spurious, or at least, as not entitled to the character

which we ascribe to them as works of inspiration. I found these Rabbis in possession of most of the Christian versions of the Scriptures, which, in general, they profess to regard as conveying a poor and inadequate idea of the original, in so far as they admitted the authenticity and genuineness of the text from which our versions are taken. So far as they allowed the history of their nation to be authentic, they held that it went no farther back than the period of the captivity, when they conceive that all their more ancient records were destroyed.

It is not to be wondered at, that the Song of Solomon should be regarded by the Jews without any reference to the interpretation which is put upon it by all classes of Christians; they admitted it to be genuine, but denied that it was capable of an indirect or metaphorical construction. As to the Apocryphal writings, they regarded the three first books, together with the wars of the Maccabees, as genuine and canonical, at least, that they were to be regarded as faithful histories, and not as fanciful or

spurious, according to the opinion of some of our Christian writers.

When I pointed out the passages in the book of Job, and in the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, which we consider as applicable to our Saviour, they of course denied the application, and said the idea was far-fetched and impossible. The Messiah is yet to come they contended, and he will arrive at last, not of a spurious race, or as a wandering mendicant. I record these statements as I heard them, and I pass them by with the single remark, that if the individuals in question had given a different account of the matter, they must have ceased to be what they were, professors of the Jewish religion, and in abandoning their own tenets, must have become, like myself, a Christian.

Dining one day with the Dutch Consul, I was surprised to observe the extraordinary marks of respect which were paid to a strange-looking little old man, who had joined us, and who was literally dressed in rags. The Consul,

at whose table we were seated, started up on his entrance, and received him with the greatest ceremony ; but in compliance with a custom universal in the East, he abstained from any enquiry as to the nature of his business, until after his guest had partaken of the hospitalities of his table, which is held to constitute a sacred guarantee of safety. A little while afterwards, I was still more surprised to notice the extreme degree of deference which was paid to the old man by two persons who entered some time after, respectably attired, and who objected to be seated in the presence of the old man, on whom they appeared to attend, although requested to do so by the Consul.

The principal stranger was represented to me as the Sheik, or Prince of a considerable territory in what is called the Desert, situated at some distance from Aleppo ; and that it was a right claimed by him, arising from inveterate usage, to exact a considerable contribution from every caravan which might traverse his territory in any direction. In consideration of this exaction, it

was understood that the caravan was entitled to the protection of the Sheik from any sort of depredation within the limits of his principality, and in this respect the practice appears to present a strong analogy to the ancient usage in Scotland, of levying what was called black mail, with an understood condition of similar protection.

I was farther informed, that an instance had occurred of a very strong caravan having attempted to pass through the territory of the Sheik without the payment of his accustomed dues. He had fallen upon them with a strong body of men, and levied the contribution as a matter of right. A great part of this caravan had belonged to the inhabitants of Aleppo, who were, of course, very much incensed at this unceremonious attack on their property, under pretence of a right, which they did not recognize; as they held, that the long practice of payment was only the price of protection from external aggression, and that it was not exigible when they found themselves strong enough to protect themselves.

The appearance of the Sheik in his present tattered habiliments was partly a sort of incognito, and partly a tribute of deference to public opinion, and to the irritated feelings of the inhabitants of Aleppo. The professed object of his visit to the Dutch Consul was, in pursuance of the same idea, to borrow a sum of money, although there was nominally a price set on his head by the authorities of the place, and I was given to understand that he would certainly be accommodated with whatever he required.

This incident presented so much of novelty to my imagination, that I was curious to see the issue, and having expressed my wishes on the subject, the Consul was so good as to ask me to return next morning to breakfast. We then parted for the night, after saying the prayer of Asseras, or evening prayer of the Turks, in which the Sheik appeared to join with the greatest fervour and devotion.

Next morning, at the ordinary hour, I was in punctual attendance at the house of the Dutch Consul, and found a repast served up with more than ordinary state. In the first

course was presented the regular dish of ceremony, which is a roasted lamb basted with honey, and I always found it extremely palatable. The Consul informed me that he had transacted the Sheik's business for him, and had got him the sum he required; but that he meant to remain for some days in the town for the purpose of making purchases. The Consul then invited me to return to dinner, which I readily agreed to do, from a wish to see more of this singular character, and through him of acquiring a better knowledge of the manners and habits of the people. Mr. Baxter, the English Consul, was one of the dinner-party; and, in the course of the evening, the Sheik invited us and several of the principal Christian inhabitants of Aleppo who were present at the entertainment, to make an excursion with him to his own territory, and to see his mode of living. This proposal was particularly agreeable to me, and Mr. Baxter and several others very readily consented to undertake the journey, and for this purpose we made the necessary preparations on the following day.

Here I may mention, as an illustration of the respect which is paid in this country to the obligation of an oath, that the only security required from the Sheik for the payment of the money which had been advanced to him was, that he should promise, and swear to the fulfilment of his promise, that the money should be returned upon a certain day ; yet, strange to say, the lenders were Jews. From this, however, it will be seen that a character for honesty and integrity will be duly appreciated even in the deserts of Arabia.

At the commencement of our journey, it was the fast of the Ramadan, the condition of which is so strict and severe, that a true Mussulman will neither eat nor drink, nor even take his pipe till after the going down of the sun. The Sheik was a strict observer of fasts and ceremonies, but in the Mahomedan as in other religions, there appear to be loop-holes out of which it is possible to escape from their rigid observance. He was a man, as it appeared to me, on the borders of eighty years of age, and he rode as we did all day on horseback, but

without venturing to indulge, so far as I could observe, in the infringement of the abstinence which the Ramadan required.

At length, when the afternoon was pretty well advanced, he began to grow exceedingly impatient, without however appearing fatigued with the long journey we had made. He asked repeatedly of me and the other strangers around him whether the sun was not already set, although it was obvious to every one that he was still far above the horizon; but it seems to have been sufficient to appease his conscientious scruple that any one should say to him that the sun was actually set, although in contradiction to the evidence of his own senses. Seeing this, the Dutch Consul took me aside, and begged me to try him when he should next ask the question, by giving him the answer which it was obvious he desired. To this I did not object, and when he next repeated the inquiry, "Giaour, is the sun yet down?" I made a response in the true style of oriental ambiguity, saying—"Sheik, a blind man would not see a speck of the sun." By this time his impa-

tience had become so great, that he resolved to content himself with this oracular sort of answer, and exclaiming in a tone of approbation, "Ha, ha!" or yes, yes! immediately called for his pipe and began to smoke with the greatest industry and perseverance.

We continued our journey long after night-fall, until we arrived at a decent-looking village, which I was told was the residence of a celebrated chief, in some degree dependant on our friend the Sheik, and connected with his Highness in those marauding expeditions which had given so much offence to the inhabitants of Aleppo. The residence of this chief was to be our station for the night, and the entertainment he prepared for us was in all respects comfortable and agreeable. We had a good supper, good beds, and the greatest care taken of our horses. The wife of this robber, as some of the gentlemen were disposed to call him, was a very handsome woman, and did not conceal her face with the same degree of care which Turkish women usually do.

The higher classes of the Arab females are

indeed equally observant of this custom with those of Turkey, but the lower ranks are not so scrupulous. We were told that our host had originally possessed himself of the village in which we passed the night by force of arms, and that on the first attempt he had not been successful, but such was its value as a watering station, not far from the borders of the desert, that he had renewed the attack, and had succeeded in securing the possession of the place. Such indeed was the force under the command of this person, that he had overpowered a caravan consisting of 4,000 persons, and exacted the full amount which was due to his superior chief.

These considerations did not hinder me from enjoying a sound night's rest. The whole party had slept in the same apartment, and on awaking in the morning, the first object which struck me was the Sheik at his devotions with his face towards the east.

The distance we had completed on the first day of our journey was at least seventy miles, and such are the habits of the horses of the

country, that they effected it with apparent ease, and without either eating or drinking. On the second day we were induced to make a halt with our friend the robber, not so much for the sake of refreshing the cattle, as to afford us an opportunity of examining a remarkable ruin which was situated in the neighbourhood of the village. It had been a Christian church, of magnificent dimensions, and the cupola, with many of the details of the tracery, was still entire. Although a mixture of the oriental and gothic styles of architecture, the general effect was exceedingly good, and its erection may doubtless be dated as far back as the time of the Crusades. The climate is so perfectly dry as to have scarcely had any influence on the materials of the building, which consisted of a fine grey freestone, and even on the pieces which had fallen, the carving was so sharp and pointed, as to wear the appearance of the workmanship of yesterday.

Not far from the church were also the ruins of a bath in tolerable preservation. It appeared to be of equal antiquity with the other build-

ing, but its form was not materially different from the baths which are still in use in the country. Close by these ruins there were several huts, which appeared to be inhabited, and while I was in the interior of the bath, a stout-looking girl came in with a herd of cattle. I observed that she wore a large ring suspended over her mouth and attached to her nose, large enough, indeed, to have enabled her to eat through it, had she been so disposed. It was probably the same sort of nose jewel which gave so much offence to the prophet Isaiah. In other respects the girl was dressed very much in the style of a Scotch peasant, with her feet and legs uncovered. Her appearance being strange to me, I gazed at her involuntarily with more steadfastness than perhaps I ought to have done, and one of the gentlemen observing it, very prudently cautioned me to be more upon my guard, as the men are naturally of a jealous disposition, and in such matters rather sharp-sighted.

Of course, I would not willingly offend against the manners of any country through

which I happened to travel, and immediately turned my attention to the examination of the ruins which had brought me to the spot. But I fear that many of my English countrymen are not sufficiently attentive in this particular, and that from an idea of the superiority, of their own customs, or from some other cause into which I do not pretend to inquire, they are too apt to offend against the national peculiarities of the foreigners with whom they associate both at home and abroad. In the instance I have mentioned, such a degree of inattention might have proved dangerous and even fatal, and it is surely not too great a liberty to direct their attention to a subject in which I have often felt that our national character is placed in a much less favourable light than it really deserves.

CHAPTER IV.

Tomb of the Prophet Jeremiah.—Peculiar custom.—Wells.
—The Templars of old.—Repositories for the dead.—Cisterns of Water. — Excavations. — Pigeon shooting.—A merry Sheik.—His wife and family.—The encampment.—Trades.—Anecdote.—Amusing characters.—True hospitality.—Good manners.—Admirable maxims.—A travelling merchant.—A pleasant dialogue.—The ladies' request.—Splendid dresses.—A good paymaster.—Peculiar ideas.—Striking incident.—The Pasha.—Instance of courtesy.—Mode of life.—Contending tribes.—Journey with the Sheik.—Approach Antioch.—Return to Aleppo.—Presents.—Generosity of the Sheik.—A tame hyæna.—An Aleppo tailor. — The Bazar. — Baths. — Eastern beauty. — The mosques.—The service.

NEXT day, in the course of our journey, a heap of stones was pointed out to me, which, by the traditions of the country, is said to have been the tomb of the prophet Jeremiah. It was

arranged with a certain degree of regularity, the top being flat, and the base in the form of a parallelogram, and was composed of rough stones, the whole being above thirty feet high, fifty feet broad, and one hundred feet long. In compliance with the custom of the country, each one of us, although of various religious persuasions, added a stone to the heap. And here I may again observe the similarity of this custom with a practice which is common in various parts of the world, particularly among the Celtic nations, of raising a heap of stones over the remains of the illustrious dead, and of enlarging the monument by the casual contributions of every passing traveller. The observation may be applied indeed to a great variety of nations, in times both ancient and modern, from Pontus, the country of Mithradates, to our own sister kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

At the tomb of Jeremiah I took up a land tortoise, the first I had seen in the country.

Our path was necessarily directed by such a route as to embrace those points where water

and refreshments could be had. Near to one of the wells which thus fell in our way, we observed some ruins of a peculiar form, and evidently built for purposes of defence. According to tradition, they were occupied by the Templars of old, and they were probably built for the purpose of securing the water produced by the neighbouring well. At all periods these wells have become objects of contention. We have the authority of the Old Testament in various passages with reference to remote eras ;—the fortified houses of the Templars afford evidence to the same purpose with respect to the middle ages, and daily experience assures us that in modern times they are not less the objects of controversy.

I have already hinted, and I have the strongest reason to believe the fact, that the supplies of water in this country occasionally alter their site and their course. In the route of this journey, for instance, I found in several places considerable ruins, where a large population must have formerly subsisted, but where that would now be impossible from the total want of water.

In the neighbourhood of one of these ruinous towns which stood upon an eminence, I observed the remains of a bridge across an adjoining hollow, where no water has been known to run for time immemorial, although, from the general aspect of the country, it is highly probable that a considerable stream had formerly flowed in that direction through the arches of the bridge, of which two were still standing, while there was a considerable appearance of others under the sand, which had been bedded up at one end of the bridge.

In the neighbouring town, also, there were baths of large dimensions in very good preservation. I know it is held by some, that the massy blocks of marble, which are often used in modern times as cisterns for holding water, were originally excavated as repositories for the dead; and the inscriptions which still remain on some of these soroi, such as that of Alexander the Great, in the British Museum, afford conclusive evidence of the fact. But the size of the baths to which I allude is of itself sufficient to exclude the idea of their having ever been em-

ployed as repositories for the dead. Some of them were large enough to hold six persons, although each composed of a single block of marble.

The same feelings which prompt a man in this country to endow an hospital, or engage in some expensive undertaking for the benefit of posterity, suggest to the rich and charitable in these parched up countries to dig a well, or erect a cistern of water. Here also the Bible and the fact afford the most interesting illustrations of each other, and indeed, I may say with the greatest truth, that a person who has travelled in these countries, has secured to himself a peculiar source of satisfaction in the perusal of the Scriptures.

The wells which are thus scattered over the country, are in general works of extraordinary magnitude. The excavations are made in the form of a cone, the apex of which is about three or four feet wide. Every one who comes to draw water brings his own rope and bucket, and when shepherds from different quarters come to one of these wells with their

flocks, it frequently happens that they decide the question of precedence by first coming to blows. Excavations, exactly similar in form, are used in these countries for the preservation of their corn, and for the sake also of concealment, as the opening may be so covered up as to make its discovery a matter of some difficulty.

Whether these dry excavations have formerly been wells which are now deserted by the springs which supplied them with water, or whether they have been formed expressly for the purpose to which they are now applied, I do not pretend to decide. I content myself with a simple statement of facts, as I find them, accompanied by such occasional reflections as have arisen in my mind from a consideration of the facts which were thus the object of my examination.

When such places have ceased to be used either as wells or as granaries, they become the resort of immense flocks of pigeons, and when we had occasion to pass such deserted excavations, in the course of our route, we generally

halted to enjoy the amusement of shooting. It was sometimes necessary to disturb the inmates by throwing in stones, and on one of these occasions our old friend the Sheik, in his eagerness for the sport, and in his haste to pick up a stone, threw his purse accidentally along with it—the purse being generally worn as an article of external dress twisted into the sash. The old gentleman laughed very heartily at the accident, and continued the sport with all the keenness of youth.

In leaving Aleppo we had proceeded in an easterly direction, and on the third day we reached the spot where the tents of the Sheik had been placed, and where his wife, his family and attendants were in waiting for his return. These tents were of considerable dimensions; that which served as the residence of the Sheik himself was about sixty feet long, twenty feet wide, and eight feet high. There might in all be about fifteen others belonging to the Sheik of similar dimensions, which served for the accommodation of his family, his attendants, and his horses. There were besides, a

great number of smaller tents, which were occupied by the casual followers of the Sheik's encampment, who formed a sort of wandering population, but were always in sufficient numbers and variety to give to the encampment the idea of a moveable and moving town.

Among these followers there is in some degree a division of labour, and a distinction of trades ; some are tentmakers, some make carpets and cloaks, and some are engaged in other pursuits consistent with their wandering mode of life. The women in general are the tailors and the carpet-makers. Their weaving apparatus is of a very simple construction, and they may be constantly seen at work in the open air at the doors of their tents. The tents themselves are composed of goats' beards, and the stuff is of so close a texture as to be impervious to rain, but nothing will serve to exclude the heat of the sun, which is often extremely oppressive. They are of such durability as to be calculated to last for sixty or seventy years.

Soon after our arrival at the tents, a circumstance occurred which serves to show how cau-

tious we should be in drawing conclusions from manners and customs, with which we have not been familiar.

A gentleman who attended the English Consul, in quality of surgeon, was a dandy of the first water ; and by way of distinction, thought fit to dress himself in the latest European costume, while every other person had, in some degree, conformed himself to the habits of the country. The fashion of the day was to wear the lower garments extremely tight, so as to fit close to the person, and the wife of the Sheik, who, although she had three daughters approaching to womanhood, was herself a person scarcely arrived at her prime, made the appearance and dress of the surgeon the subject of repeated remark. In justice to the lady, I am bound to observe, that as she had never seen a house in the whole course of her life, and never, probably till now, a European, the appearance of the tight pantaloons must naturally have struck her as something very extraordinary. But the remarkable plainness with which she made her remarks, and the inconveniences

which she suggested as resulting from the dress, impressed me very strongly with the idea that the lady herself was a person of doubtful modesty. I should have said that married ladies are accustomed to see company of both sexes, but the privilege is not extended to others, so that we had never seen the daughters of the Sheik, although we understood that they resided in an adjoining tent.

In looking for my horse, I wandered one day into the tent allotted to the use of the princesses, and found them seated on carpets without their veils. They got up on my entrance, and, perceiving me to be one of the strangers, they gave me the salam, crossing the hands on the breast, and making a low bow. Seeing my mistake on the instant, I made a hasty excuse, and immediately retired. The hour was early, and having made a short excursion on horseback, I returned to breakfast, when I mentioned the mistake which I had committed in the morning. The first feeling of the Sheik was to take me seriously to task for having left the tents unattended.

The truth is, the old gentleman was evidently much out of humour at the sad solecism I had committed in point of politeness, in leaving him to be charged with a neglect of his duties, as the entertainer of strangers, if any accident had befallen me in the course of my wanderings. At first I was at a loss to what cause to assign the obvious irritation with which he addressed me. He began by asking how I could think of using him so ill? and on inquiring in what manner I had given him offence, he continued,—“Do you not know that every body sees you are a Giaour, though dressed like us; and that if you had been killed, as you might have been for the value of your shining arms, the curse of God would have lit on me and mine!”

Although exceedingly irascible, the old man was easily appeased by the deference which I naturally paid to his age and station. But while I readily ascribed the error I had committed to my own ignorance and inexperience, I could not conceal from myself that these wanderers over the desert are deeply imbued

with the truest principles of hospitality. “ Ah,” said the old man, in a tone of reconciliation and good-humour, “ you Giaours are sadly ignorant of correct usages.”

Although the mistake I had committed in the morning, in entering the tent of the young ladies, who were really very good-looking damsels, had been totally overlooked, I could not deny that their deportment on the occasion was just what it should have been under circumstances to them so unusual. I was satisfied from their demeanour that they must have been educated with care, and with a due attention to instil into their minds becoming sentiments of modesty and propriety.

At the same time, I was still unable to dismiss from my recollection the extraordinary observations which had been made by their mother, in speaking of our dandy surgeon and his European habiliments, and I could not help regarding her with very different sentiments. Soon afterwards, in the course of conversation at the door of our tent, the subject of marriage became a topic of discussion, and I took the

opportunity of expressing my surprise to the princess that she had no more children, they were so great a blessing. Perhaps, I added, with becoming gravity—for there no one smiles, and a laugh would be ascribed to the grossest rudeness or folly—the prince is too old.

“Not so,” she said, “but I am. Look at my sons, they are almost men, my daughters, they are growing up to womanhood. How could I, with the modesty or dignity of a mother, appear before these young people in the state you allude to. No,” she added, “I should be justly considered as a woman without shame.” Thus I found that it was only in the expression, and not in the idea that there was any appearance of deficiency in the purest sentiments of propriety and decorum, and I was heartily ashamed of my own want of penetration in not having sooner observed such a well-defined distinction.

In the course of our stay with the Sheik, there arrived at the tents a sort of travelling merchant, with twelve or fourteen asses, each loaded with two bales of goods, proportioned to the ani-

mal's strength. The hour of his appearance was just before dinner, and leaving the asses in the care of his attendant, he walked upon his arrival to the principal tent, where the Sheik received him with the usual salute of "God bless you !" which the old man never failed in bestowing. He then assured him of welcome, that he should have fodder for his cattle, and that his tent was always open to the traveller. The man and his attendant ass-driver appeared to be regarded as having been raised into an equality with the Sheik, his family and guests, from the mere circumstance of their being strangers, and I could not refuse my tribute of admiration to the patriarchal manner in which he received them. In seating ourselves at the board, he made the merchant and the ass-driver sit down beside him, and attended with punctilious observance to all their wants.

After dinner he caused them to be presented with pipes and coffee, in common with the Consuls and the other guests. He followed, too, the invariable custom of the country, by abstaining from the proposal of a single ques-

tion until the strangers were assured of hospitality and protection, by having first eaten and drank. He then inquired, "From whence come you? Whither are you going? And what are the goods you have got to dispose of?" To which the other answered, "I come from the fair of Bagdad; I travel through this country, and have arrived at your tents in the hope of selling my goods, which consist of the finest productions of Bussorah, and Guzerat, the kingdom of Cambai, and the more distant parts of India."—"It is well," said the Sheik, and the merchant took his leave to look after his cattle.

The same evening, the young ladies whom I had seen, sent a message to their father, to ask that they might be allowed to see the goods which had been brought by the merchant—a request which was readily granted, and, indeed, in this country it is quite unusual to deny any request which is made to a parent by his grown-up children. Two of the richest bales were accordingly sent into the tent appropriated to the ladies, who each selected four or

five dresses of the rarest kinds of gold and silver muslins. Their mother joined us, and expressed her admiration of the dresses in the strongest terms, but not, as it appeared to me, from any wish to add to her own wardrobe, but as an inducement to the Sheik to enlarge the order which his daughters had given to the merchant. By-and-by the young ladies sent another message to their father, asking leave to purchase some additional articles; on which he observed, that he liked to make his children happy, and said to their messenger, that they might keep the two bales which had been sent for their inspection. I do not attempt to estimate the value of this princely gift, which was greatly enhanced in my eyes by the pretentionless manner in which it was bestowed. He asked no question of the merchant as to the price of his goods, but simply said to him—"Go to my Sheraff, and desire him to pay you."

I had a good deal of conversation with this travelling merchant, as to the nature of his traffic, which he said he had carried on over an extensive tract of country for a number of

years. Every where, he said, he met with a good and hospitable reception, that he was protected in his dealings, and was honestly paid for all that was taken from him. I inquired if he never went down to the coast of the Mediterranean, where so many strangers resorted.—“God forbid!” he said, “that I should ever go there again, or have farther dealings with the Giaours. I thought them good and honest, but found them far otherwise. They took every thing from me, promised me my own price, and gave me nothing. I went to the Aga to complain; he told me he could do me no justice against these men of the sea, who came from distant countries, and were not subject to his control. It is not therefore wonderful that I have never since revisited the coast. In this country, they take my goods or they let them alone, at all events they receive me kindly, and what can I ask for more?”

The peculiar ideas of the people of this country in regard to honour and good faith in pecuniary transactions, have often impressed themselves on my mind with permanent effect.

But while many circumstances present themselves to illustrate the impression, I could not readily mention a more striking incident than what occurred to an officer of the Bengal Artillery, who was charged with dispatches from India to Constantinople. When he arrived at Bagdad, he found that his finances were about to be exhausted, and sent for one of the Jews who transact all the money business of the country to supply his wants.

From an inspection of the officer's papers, the Jew was satisfied of the truth of his representations, but observed, that it was not permitted to transact with a stranger, without the authority of the Governor of Bagdad, the Pasha of the city. The officer and the Jew went together to the Pasha to obtain the necessary sanction, when in place of granting it, he pointed to one of his attendants, and said that he would supply what was necessary for the officer's journey, at the same time directing the Jew to attend this person, who was the treasurer of the Pasha's household, and receive the 4000 piastres, the sum at which the Bengal

officer had estimated his wants. Pipes and coffee were then brought in, the Pasha proposed a number of questions on indifferent subjects, inquired whether he had been comfortable, and if he were in want of any personal service.

In the mean time, the Sheraff and the Jew returned with the money, when the Pasha observed to the officer, that he was no doubt fatigued with his journey, and that he would do well to go to his lodgings and seek for some repose ; but before his departure he asked for ink and paper and a reed, which being brought to him he began to write, leaning as is usual on his knee as he sat on his carpet. The Pasha inquired the meaning of this proceeding, when the officer explained that he was writing an order for the repayment of the money by the agent at Constantinople for the British East India Company. At this the Pasha expressed the greatest surprise. "This," he said, "must be a singular people. He comes to me a stranger to tell me his wants ; I give him what he desires ; he has eaten and drank at my board,

and now he seeks to cancel the favour which he has received at my hands. Teach him that this is not agreeable to our Eastern usages, and bid him go in peace.”

I omitted to mention that the Sheik, when so much offended with me for having ventured to ride out unattended, had sent for his nephew immediately on being appeased, and said to me, “This young man has orders to attend you always. With him you may go in safety in any direction and to any distance;” and in order to assure me of the unlimited hospitality with which I was entertained, he desired me, with an Oriental latitude of licence, to sell the tents I lodged in if I so desired it. With this young man I made a number of excursions, and I found that from this period there was no limit to the liberty of travelling where I would.

In answer to my inquiries as to the mode of life of these people at other seasons of the year, I was told that they moved from one district to another, in consequence of one situation being favourable to the cultivation of their crops, and others far distant being only

suitable for the more important purposes of pasture for their numerous flocks. The place where we found the tents of the Sheik, at the commencement of our journey, was what may be called their agricultural district, where maize, and rice, and other kinds of grain were raised in considerable quantities; but I was told that the wealth of the Sheik consisted chiefly in his flocks, and that he was owner of not less than 100,000 sheep, besides many hundreds of horses, a vast number of black cattle, and about sixty camels. What he chiefly valued himself upon was an hundred brood mares of a race which were held in very high estimation.

In what I have called the agricultural district, the ground is prepared and the seed sown at one season, when it is left until the approach of harvest. The tribe then return or send the number necessary for cutting down the crop, and securing it in those subterranean barns which I have already described.

Some years before I saw him, he had a war with a neighbouring tribe, and mustered, as I was told, above 15,000 horse. Part of his re-

venues arise from a sort of capitation tax, which is paid by the inhabitants of his territory, in return for the protection which he affords them, but in conformity with the feudal system, they are also liable to the performance of personal services when the chief has occasion to go to war.

In the course of our journey with the Sheik, we came within sight of Antioch, but for a reason, perhaps similar to that which made him so chary of a public appearance at Aleppo, consistent with his rank and station, he did not approach nearer than six miles to the town, although with some of the other strangers I had the curiosity to approach it more nearly.

At another time, we went out to hunt the wild boar, and killed, I think, fourteen or fifteen, but did not take up one of them, since in these countries, as all the world knows, the flesh of the hog is held in abhorrence, and we had learned enough of their manners to avoid doing violence to the feelings or prejudices of our hospitable entertainer.

At length we made our preparations for re-

turning to Aleppo, the principal of which was the arrangement of the presents, which, according to the custom of the country, it was necessary to give to the attendants of the Sheik. I had always been a fancier of horses, and had made a purchase of one from a person connected with the Sheik's household, and while making the purchase, I had expressed some admiration of another which was standing by. It is possible that the one I bought had really belonged to the Sheik, but if it did I was ignorant of the fact at the time. Having embraced the Sheik, and proceeded on our journey towards Aleppo to a considerable distance, it was announced to us by one of our attendants, that we were pursued by a person at speed. This proved to be a favourite attendant of the Sheik, who galloped up to us with a led horse in his hand, and singling me out from among the rest, requested me to hold the bridle; I did so without reflection, and he, without saying a single word more, disappeared with equal speed, and left us to conjecture the cause of his abrupt and extraordinary visit. The horse

he left with me proved to be the same I had casually admired in making my previous purchase, and it was agreed on all hands that I had no alternative but to retain it as a gift from the Sheik.

During my former stay in the house of the British Consul, I had a proof that an animal, which is thought to be the most untamable of the savage tribes, may by proper treatment, and strict attention to the nature of its food, be brought completely under subjection, and suffered to go about like other domestic animals. I had a hyæna brought to me about three or four weeks old, which I caused to be fed exclusively on bread and milk, taking care that he was never suffered to taste any animal food.

For myself, I was quite satisfied as to the safety of permitting him the range of my apartments, but I confess, that I never in my life felt so much alarm as when sitting one day with the Consul's lady, in one of the public rooms of the mansion, my wild-looking *protegé* entered the apartment, his eyes glaring in a style well suited to alarm a lady who had at

the moment an infant in her arms. I hastened up to him, and pushed him gently out of the room, and calling for the attendants, I had the satisfaction to find that the lady's alarm had subsided without any serious consequences.

The hyæna remained in this tame state for several months, but in the course of my absence from Aleppo, I found that my servants had not attended to his regimen in the manner I had prescribed. I was assured that he had been permitted to gorge himself with animal food. At all events, his state on my return was such as to make it impossible to keep him any longer, but the result of the experiment confirmed me in the idea so quaintly expressed by the author of *Hudibras*, that any wild animal may be tamed by mere attention to diet. For,

“ Was ever man yet fierce or cruel
Upon the strength of water gruel ;
But who 'll withstand the rage and force
Of him who rides, then eats his horse.”

Before taking my final leave of Aleppo, I must notice one or two circumstances which took some hold of my imagination, and may

therefore afford a moment's interest to others as they did to me.

When I sent for a tailor, for instance, to make me a suit of clothes ; he took a cursory survey of my person, not, indeed, with the precision of him of Laperta with his quadrant, but sufficiently it seems for the purpose in view. He then presented his patterns for the different parts of the dress, and made the salam to depart. I mentioned the omission he had made in not taking my measure, but he answered that that was unnecessary, and in fact it proved so;—the clothes, from the great amplitude of their form, being sufficiently exact.

The bazar of Aleppo is perhaps one of the richest in the East, the town being situated in the centre of trade in that part of the world. Here you may find commodities from all parts of the world, and in every imaginable variety. The bazar is a covered space of such extent as to include a number of streets, and as the shops for the sale of different kinds of wares are mingled together without any attention to method or arrangement, the sight of the traffic

affords to a stranger a scene of very various amusement. Among the purchasers there is a great proportion of females, but their dress is so constructed as to make the concealment of their persons complete, so much so that they could not be recognized by their nearest connections. Women as well as men appear to dislike to be confined in close attire; and the appearance of the females, as they are seen walking in the bazar, I can compare to nothing so well as to so many sugar-loaves moving about on yellow feet, for such is uniformly the colour of their boots.

The baths are very magnificent structures, and those used by the women receive their light through cupolas of stained glass. I never, of course, had the privilege of entering these, although I have heard of travellers who boasted of such advantages. They are heated, I believe, by vapour, which is raised from little rills of hot water traversing the floors of the apartments like a miniature meadow-field under the process of irrigation. The person who is to take the bath, first enters an apartment very

little above the temperature of the open air. The next of the suite is the dressing-room. Next to that is the first of the range of baths, which gradually rise in temperature through a long series of rooms to any degree of heat which may be required. The bather remains in any or each of them as long as pleasure or convenience may dictate, and returns through the same suite of apartments in which the degrees of heat, although constantly the same, affect the bather in a regular, decreasing ratio.

The antichambers and dressing-rooms are very extensive, and there the slaves remain in attendance to dress and undress the bathers. When they come out of the bath, their faces are swelled and florid, and there is something about the expression of their eye which gives you the idea of some degree of mental estrangement. Corpulency they consider a decided beauty, and they think it promoted by the bath, although in my opinion the use of it to excess produces a flaccidity of the skin, and other disagreeable appearances, so as in fact to accelerate that premature old age to

which the women of Eastern countries are otherwise peculiarly liable. Thick ankles are also considered a point of beauty, and to increase it, it is said to be a common practice among Turkish women to scarify the skin, which thus becomes thick and callous. I need not remind the reader that women of a certain rank are never seen, but such of these particulars as I had not an opportunity of witnessing in person, I state on the authority of Mrs. Baxter, the wife of the English Consul, who had the best opportunities of observing, and was herself a very beautiful and intelligent young woman.

The mosques are accessible to every stranger. In these buildings there is nothing to be seen but the priest, or mollah, saying prayers, and the audience kneeling on the mats with which the floor is covered. There are no altars, no seats, no symbols of religion, nothing but the priest, the audience, and the mats on which they kneel. The service on each occasion is of short continuance, being repeated seven times a day, and each time accompanied by ablution. The

lower classes perform this ceremony at the public fountains; and in places where the supplies of water are not to be procured, I understand that earth is substituted from the idea that it contains water.

CHAPTER V.

Intelligence from England.—Set out for England.—Route of the Caravan.—The Arabian Horse.—Anecdotes.—Adventures of an Arab.—Description of an Arab horseman.—Weapons.—Progress of a Caravan.—Mode of making Arab bread.—An Encampment.—Reception from an Arab Chief.—His Establishments.—Arrival through the Desert at Hamah.—Orontes.—Latikea.—The Sheraff of the district.—Ceremonies and Presentations.—Arab Anecdotes.—Mode of living and passing my time.—An agreeable Visit.—Odd Mistake.—A Fair Patient.—A Soldier's Prescription.—Sudden influx of Patients, and Professional Fame.

AFTER I had been about a year at Aleppo, I received intelligence from England which was calculated to inspire me with the greatest uneasiness and alarm. My eldest son, George Callander, had married the daughter of a Scotch

advocate, who had stipulated to give a marriage portion with his daughter.

Subsequently he thought of examining the titles and muniments of my estate at Craighforth, which had descended to me under one of those strict entails which are peculiar to Scotland, through a long series of generations.

In the communication which I received at Aleppo, I was told that certain proceedings had been instituted in the Courts of Scotland, in the name of my son George, who was of course the next heir of entail, for the purpose of setting aside my right to the estate, and vesting it in his person, under pretence of a clause in the entail, which declared that the right of any heir in possession should be liable to be irritated and resolved, (according to the Scotch law-phrase,) at the suit of any succeeding heir, so long as any debt of the first maker of the entail should remain a burden on the property. Now it appeared that the father-in-law of George Callander, had discovered that a debt

of this kind still existed to the amount, I think, of 200*l*. and although I had never heard of it, nor was made at all acquainted with its influence or tendency, I was informed that my interests would be liable to suffer very severely if I did not return immediately to Scotland and oppose the proceedings which had been taken in my son's name.

On the receipt of this intelligence, I was not long in making my preparations for my return to England. The first caravan which was to proceed to the Mediterranean coast had Tripoli, in Africa, for its destination. And here again I have to express the deep sense I have always entertained of the kindness and warmth of heart of my friend Mr. Baxter, in providing for me the necessary supplies for my journey on a very short notice, an obligation which was poorly repaid by a mere pecuniary remittance on my return to Europe.

The caravan stopped as usual for a day at a place about six miles from Aleppo, for the purpose of completing the arrangements for the journey. There I joined it on the following

morning, attended, as on my entry into the town, by all the European Consuls and principal Christian inhabitants.

The route of the caravan lay at first through the great Desert of Syria, and then through the country of Hamah, the most celebrated in the world for its breed of horses ; and this was a circumstance peculiarly agreeable to me, as I was desirous of all things to carry home with me a horse of that unequalled race. The purity of the breed is ascertained and preserved in this country with greater precision and facility, in consequence of the horses and mares, to the number of one hundred and upwards, being uniformly held in common property by a particular family or tribe. The line of succession is preserved with all the care and all the accuracy perhaps of a Welsh pedigree ; and in the genealogical tree of the horse which I ultimately purchased, its descent was professedly traced to the famous black mare of Mahomed, and I had a certificate of the fact, subscribed by five or six Sheiks, who have an obvious interest in keeping up the va-

lue of their breed of horses by this exactness in their pedigree.

It is on the mares, however, that the chief value is placed, and through them it is that purity of blood is most depended on. The sister of the horse which I brought home with me, was for sale at the time I made the purchase. I examined her with the greatest care, and could not detect the semblance of a fault in any one of her points. Like all the others of the race, she was under fifteen hands high ; and the price put upon her by the tribe to which she belonged was 10,000 piastres, equal to 2,500*l.* of our money. The value of the mare is always much greater than that of a horse of equal symmetry, from the idea of her greater influence in preserving the purity of the race. The price I paid for the horse, own brother to this mare, was 800 Venetian sequins, equal to about 400*l.* sterling ; and I incline to think it was not far out of proportion, according to their ideas, to the price of the other.

While I was yet in the district where these

horses are bred, an agent arrived from the King of Prussia, commissioned to make purchases for his Majesty. He agreed with me in admiring the mare, and declared she was the handsomest animal he had ever seen. He was even willing to give the 10,000 piastres for her, but the tribe had come to the resolution of preserving her as a brood mare, and refused that sum when offered. It is to be observed, however, that there are two distinct races in the country, the noble and the common. Among the latter, many beautiful horses are often to be found, but they never possess those qualities in perfection for which the noble race of Arabia is so peculiarly distinguished—fleetness, wind, and bottom.

Here too I must observe, that the horses brought from Barbary are not to be compared in any good quality with the noble breed of Hamah. Many of the Barbs have radical faults, and some of them are very ugly, goose-rumped, cat-hammed, and narrow-chested. The difference of the breeds was long unknown in this country, but now it is better understood, and a Barb I believe is seldom bred from.

I shall here mention a circumstance, on the authority of persons in that country whose good faith and respectability I had no reason to doubt, as illustrating in rather a striking point of view the marked distinction between the different races of this noble animal, which are reared in the same district.

An Arab, who had pitched his tent in a solitary spot of the desert, had occasion to leave his family, with his stock of the common breed of horses and mares, for a single night. On his return to the place in the morning, he found that his family and his whole property had been carried off in the night. He was mounted on a horse of the noble breed, and of the highest qualities, and having a rifle with him, he set out alone in pursuit of the robbers. On coming up with them, he found that their numbers were considerable, but he had reason to believe that they were not possessed of firearms, which proved to be the fact.

Approaching near enough to bring them within the range of his gun, he fired and wounded one or more of them, and waving his

hand he dared them to follow him. This they attempted, but found it fruitless. He then returned to the attack, and again succeeded in singling out one or two of them with his rifle. Once more they pursued him with the fleetest of their horses, but to overtake him was impossible. Thus he hung upon their rear, wounding and killing several of them, until he at length compelled them to restore the booty.

The accoutrements of the Arab horsemen are simple in their construction, and well suited to his wants. The saddle is generally large, and always easy to ride on. The straps are made of untanned leather, and are fastened without buckles. A ring is attached to the end of the girth, and another to the corresponding part of the saddle. Through these rings a strap is repeatedly passed, and drawn together with such force as to bring them near to each other, after which, the strap is fastened by twisting the ends round the part thus tightened. The saddle thus fixed is never displaced, and, indeed, seldom taken off, except for the temporary purpose of grooming, when it is again immediately replaced, although there be no intention of rid-

ing. Cruppers are seldom used, because they are not necessary to keep the saddle in its place, and because they never carry any thing behind it. The shoes are a thin flat piece of iron, with a hole in the middle to keep the foot cool, something in the form of our common bar shoe, but extremely light, and even flexible, so as to yield with the foot when pressed upon a stone. The numerous diseases to which our horses are liable are scarcely known in these countries.

Sometimes, indeed, I have seen a lame horse, but, upon inquiry, the cause was generally to be traced to some accident, either in a skirmish, or from riding violently, which they do without hesitation over the roughest ground. Although never a very timorous rider, I have frequently felt somewhat uneasy at the style in which they carried me over a country which the boldest rider in England would hesitate to follow. In going down a declivity not less, perhaps, than forty-five degrees, where stones as large as a table were scattered about in all directions, I was proceeding with some caution to guide my horse over the difficulties of the

ground, when an Arab called out to me, and I was induced ever afterwards to follow the advice,—“ Give him his head, he sees the stones as well as you do.”

Every body has seen the Turkish bridle; they never use a curb, but the ring which is put into the mouth serves the same purpose; the bit, which is very light, acting so powerfully, by means of the lever attached to it, as to force the mouth open and keep it so: neither do they ever use the snaffle, or bridoon; I tried it in the hope of its easing the mouth, but to horse and rider it proved equally inconvenient. Although they use such powerful bridles, the Arabs ride with a heavy hand, so as to sustain the horse in advancing, and to curb him in action. This they are able to do very effectually, and in throwing the jereed it is absolutely necessary. Perhaps the most remarkable point about the Arabian horse is the extraordinary smallness of the head and mouth,—so small indeed is the latter, that you would think they might use a common tumbler for a water bucket.

The stirrup used by the Arab is singularly short, but the seat of the rider is not on that account the less secure, and it enables him, in rising on his stirrup to throw the jereed, or to strike a blow, to do it with an infinitely increased effect. The sudden jerk which is often given in these exercises to the stirrup-leather, makes it necessary to secure it much more firmly than we do. This is done by ten or twelve straps or thongs, and the stirrup-iron, in place of being a narrow bar, is so constructed as to allow the whole foot to rest on a plate of iron reaching from the toe to some distance behind the heel, where it is sharpened so as to serve the purposes of a spur.

The Arab feels that his safety depends on the quality of his accoutrements, and this is a point to which his attention is constantly directed. In action they never dismount, so that when you see a horse during an engagement without a rider, you may conclude that he is killed or badly wounded. In the hands of a European unaccustomed to the habits of the Arab horse, and unacquainted

with the manner of treating him, the animal appears to be extremely vicious, but let the same horse be mounted by a native horseman, and he will be found to be gentle, docile, and obedient.

I need say nothing of the sabre, which is their favourite weapon, and is always light and handy, of a curved form, and of considerable strength, the best being made at Damascus. But the use of the jereed is not so much known; its length is about four feet, with a steel head well-tempered and well-sharpened. It is used as a missile, and four of them are generally carried in a small case under the thigh of the horseman, so as to enable him to seize one of them very quickly, and the case is fastened to the saddle by loops behind and before.

They have also a kind of reed in the form of the jereed, with which they are accustomed to amuse themselves in sham-fights, yet even these are often thrown with such force, celerity, and precision, as to make it extremely difficult to parry the stroke. They assemble in parties

to enjoy this exercise, and the speed with which they gallop, and still more the dexterity with which they turn their horses, is beyond description or belief. Frequently they will catch the jereed of their adversary as it is darted through the air. It is then that you see an Arab in his true character—a part of his horse—a real centaur.

The ordinary rate at which a caravan travels is about thirty miles a day. In the course of this journey, after making myself acquainted with the route, I was induced on one or two occasions to leave the caravan for a day's journey to the right or left, and to join it again when farther advanced. One of these rambles brought me acquainted with the manner in which bread is baked in the Arabian villages. On arriving at the caravanserai where I had intended to lodge for the night, I found it on the borders of the territory of two neighbouring tribes, between whom there existed some dispute. As the caravanserai was filled with armed men in a state of bustle and excitement, I resolved to proceed to a village some miles farther in ad-

vance. In this village my meal was prepared in the apartment where I sat, and as is usual in the country, the bread was kneaded as well as baked just as it was about to be used.

It is composed of the finest wheaten flour, and is rolled without any yeast or leaven into cakes extremely thin. The oven is movable and is made of iron, in the form and about the size, or rather larger, than a bee-hive. The mouth, which opens downwards, is made to fit exactly to a circular opening in the floor, in which a fire of charcoal is prepared, and over the fire a narrow grating is laid, somewhat similar to a gridiron, and also movable. The oven is lifted by one person with its two handles, while another spreads the cake like a lining over its interior surface, and when sufficiently baked the bread falls off upon the gridiron, and being always eaten hot, it is served up for immediate use.

Partly from curiosity to see an encampment of the Courdine Arabs, and partly from a desire to avoid the danger of remaining overnight exposed to the unhealthy vapours of a

marshy situation in which the caravan had halted, I resolved in another instance to separate myself from it for the night. About a mile distant from the swampy spot which had been fixed for the night's station of the caravan, I observed a number of tents, pitched on an eminence where there was at least no danger of malaria, whatever there might be of personal violence, and I mentioned to the Mockra my intention of going there to pass the night. He attempted to dissuade me, by the alarming accounts which are generally given of this savage tribe ; but as I had seen individuals of the race who had made good and faithful domestic servants in Aleppo and its neighbourhood ; as it was here but a compromise between two sorts of danger, the one obvious and immediate, the other only problematical ; and as the hazards pointed out by the Mockra are generally greater in description than in reality, I resolved to take my chance of the reception I might meet with at this warlike encampment.

Seeing that I did not listen with much attention to the arguments he urged on me, the

Mockra then recommended that I should at least take nothing with me to tempt the cupidity of these wandering savages. I agreed accordingly to divest myself of my arms, and with nothing but my pipe in my hand, I proceeded on foot to the tents of the Courdines. There I saw a vast number of people, but their aspect, although in general somewhat ungainly, was far from being so hideous as the Mockra had represented. I inquired for their chief, when they pointed out to me a hard-favoured man who had lost an eye, and who appeared from his manner as if he had just returned from some excursion. His demeanour and presence were far from prepossessing, and he carried a club of rather a formidable size leaning over his shoulder. However, I approached him, and with an air of as much frankness as I could assume, I said that I came to ask his hospitality for the night. He invited me to walk into the tent, and ordered coffee and cakes, which served to make our acquaintance. I took care on my part to show no want of confidence, from a

conviction that a proportional want of safety would have resulted from it.

When we had finished our coffee, and were taking our pipes, he began to inquire whence I had come, and whither I was going. When satisfied on these points, he observed that this was probably the first encampment of the tribe which I had had an opportunity of seeing; and on my acquiescence in the observation, he proposed that I should walk out with him to see his tents, his cattle, and other objects of curiosity. But first he presented me to two young men his sons, who brought with them a fine little savage his grandson.

We then walked out together, when he showed me first a number of camels, which he said were excellent cattle. His horses I admired extremely, and seeing that I was pleased with the sight, he carried me to some distance, to the place where his brood mares were collected, amounting in number to at least an hundred; some with foal, and others with foals at their feet, but all kept in such excellent order,

as to cleanliness and care, that I could not choose but admire them, knowing, as I did, that if these mares had been in Europe, their value would have been incredible.

On our return to the tents, he pointed out his flocks of sheep on the neighbouring hills, and as soon as we had arrived, he observed that it was time for evening prayer; so that, even among this savage race, they are not inattentive to their religious observances. When we came to the tent, we found a fire lighted, which was for the purpose of keeping away the mosquitoes, and soon after, supper was served.

Meantime he observed to me, that the furthestmost part of the tent, which was in all from sixty to seventy feet long, was the habitation of the women and children, and that I must not approach it. The supper consisted of a roasted lamb dressed with honey, in the manner of the country, afterwards a plate of bilberries, made into syrup, which made an excellent sweetmeat, and finally a dish of dates.

As soon as our repast was finished, which, our drink being water, was not attended with

any intemperance, the chief pointed out to me the place where I should sleep, and observed, at the same time, that his two sons should lie one on each side of me, lest, as he was pleased to say, I should want any thing during the night. The bed was soon made, as it consisted of a number of carpets, the upper one being of Persian manufacture, of the most valuable kind. I then went to sleep, and addressed myself to the drowsy god with so much good-will, that I did not awake until a messenger from the Mockra came to inquire for me, and to announce that the caravan was ready to depart. My toilette and my preparations were easily made, as all that was wanted was to shake myself; but the chief, who was at hand, said that I could not leave him without taking coffee and smoking a pipe.

This being done, I reflected that I had nothing about me which I could offer as a present, in compliance with the manners of the country, but the pipe which I had just been smoking; it was fortunately of some value, the mouth-piece being of the purest amber, and

the bowl of the best sort manufactured at Constantinople. He accepted it readily ; indeed the refusal of a present is supposed to infer hostility ; but, on turning round to the little fellow, his grandson, and finding that I had nothing to offer him but money, I took a few piastres from my pocket, and gave them to the boy ; but the chief took them gently from him, and, without any remark, returned them to me. I then bethought myself of the chain of my watch, which was a common gold one, with several branches and trinkets attached to each. I twisted off one of the branches, to which two seals were suspended, and presented it to the boy, on which the grandfather made me the salam with an expression of satisfaction.

I next approached to take leave : he embraced me, thanked me for my society, and wished me a good journey ; at the same time, one of his attendants delivered to the messenger who came from the caravan a bag of choice tobacco as a present for me, and to the great surprise of the Mockra I soon afterwards returned in safety to tell him the adventures of

the night. He was not, he said, under any great apprehension of their taking my life, but he had no idea of my being permitted to leave the camp of the Courdines until I had sent for my horses, and the greater part of my baggage, as the price of my liberty.

This opinion was strongly confirmed by a respectable Jew, who was travelling with the caravan, and who perfectly agreed with the Mockra, that I was much more fortunate in the issue of the adventure, than wise or prudent in undertaking it. He had enjoyed various opportunities of observing the manners of the Courdines, and when I told him of the hospitable reception I had met with, he observed that that was just in keeping with their general character, in which there was no medium or moderation, all that they did being either good or bad in the extreme.

It was agreed, however, on all hands, that in the result I had greatly the advantage of my fellow-travellers, as they had passed a very bad night in the low marshy ground in which the caravan had been stationed.

It was within a few days after this adventure that we arrived at the populous and pleasing district of Hamah, after having fairly cleared the desert. The town of Hamah is seated on the Orontes, and its aspect on seeing it from the heights by which it is surrounded is truly beautiful. The groves of orange and almond trees, with the numerous water-mills which are moved by this rapid and noisy river, give a character to the scene of the most picturesque and interesting description, particularly to those who have just crossed the desert, and like me, perhaps, had not seen any similar object for so long a period before. Latikea was the last place I had seen which at all corresponded with it, and the view had the additional charm of coming unexpectedly upon me in crossing the bite of a hill just at the hour of sunset.

Immediately on my arrival I waited on the Sheraff, or Treasurer of the district, for whom I had fortunately been furnished with letters of recommendation, as it was necessary to make some stay in the place, from its being a central station where caravans from various quarters

assemble, and after being disorganized are made up afresh, according to the business and destination of each individual traveller. The Sheraff was a young man, not above twenty-four years of age, and I found that he was not acquainted with any language but the Arabic. The welcome I received from him was of the most cordial description ; he embraced me warmly, and assured me, in the Arab fashion, that God had sent him a blessing in directing a stranger to his house.

He showed me my apartments, which according to our ideas had but little furniture, indeed, little else but a few carpets, and in the room where I was to dine, a divan raised about a foot from the ground. They had the advantage, however, of being spacious and airy, although the access from the house to the street was awkward and inconvenient. The rich and fertile territory of Hamah is surrounded by the desert, from which the inhabitants are in constant alarm, lest they should be attacked and pillaged, as they sometimes are, by bands of wandering marauders. In consequence, the

houses of the town are so constructed as to present some obstacle to any sudden attack. The walls are immensely thick; the outer door is only about three feet high, and so narrow that only one person can enter at a time.

The day after my arrival, the Sheraff renewed the ceremony of receiving me, and brought with him several of his friends to present to me. After taking coffee and smoking with the strangers, he renewed the expression of his happiness at my arrival, and laying hold of my arm, he led me towards the pillars of the mansion, saying, "These are yours—this house is yours;" and as if he would make a symbolical delivery to strengthen the warmth of his expression, he laid hold of one of the pillars and said to me with great emphasis, "You may sell it." This seems to be a sort of idiomatic expression characteristic of the people, and of the language in which it is used, and serves to indicate the intensity of that feeling which is said to exist among a people in the inverse ratio of their civilization.

While I was yet at Hamah, and a resident in

the house of the Sheraff, the duties of his office required him to leave home for a considerable time. Before his departure he repeated the ceremony of welcome, desiring me to regard the house and every thing in it as my own; but mentioning that I should on no account approach the back part of the mansion, which was occupied by his mother and his sisters.

Soon after he was gone, I called my own servants to give orders for purchasing some supplies for my table, when one of them, who was better acquainted with the manners of the country, inquired if the Sheraff had done any thing to offend me, and observed that such an interference with the arrangements of the household could not fail to be taken very seriously amiss. In this opinion I concurred, and found that at the usual hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon an elegant repast was served up, more nearly analogous to our dinner than any other meal.

At supper, which is served about six in the afternoon, immediately after the prayer of Assera, I generally found myself visited by some of the principal inhabitants of the place.

The principal standing dish was either a roasted porcupine or a lamb, followed by a dish of clotted milk, with sugar, dates, and dried fruits. Every repast was concluded with pipes and coffee of excellent quality, which to me was much more agreeable and salubrious than the practice of indulging in strong liquors. In this way of life I continued to pass my days rather agreeably ; nor would the time have hung heavy on my hands, had I not been labouring under so much anxiety and apprehension as to the state of my affairs in Scotland.

The inhabitants of these countries have a strange idea that a knowledge of the healing art is a universal accomplishment among the natives of Europe ; and I had the greatest difficulty in attempting to persuade them that I was not a physician, but a mere seraskier, or commander of troops, who knew nothing at all of medicine or the practice of physic. On all occasions, however, I listened with becoming attention to the statements which were made to me, and answered their questions with care and precision, and above all with the most imper-

turbable gravity ; and I never allowed myself to forget that their observations, although sometimes sufficiently ludicrous, were probably not more so than those of a European might appear to them. In other respects I was an object of considerable curiosity, as an infidel, they assured me, had not been seen in that quarter for a period of twenty-five years.

One day I was visited, to my great surprise, by three females, who being ushered into my apartment, I seated myself in the corner, as representing the master of the house, and begged of them to sit down by me. One of them did so, but the other two declined, from which I perceived that they stood in the relation to each other of mistress and slave, that is in the Oriental sense of these terms. The three females were veiled and in mean attire, but she who had sat down began to observe that, knowing that we infidels all understood the art of the physician, she had come to me to beg that I might cure her of a complaint which had made her very lean and very miserable. I tried, as usual, to persuade her that I was quite unqualified to do

her the service she required ; but she persisted in her solicitations with the greatest importunity, and at length, throwing back her veil, she brought forward her hair, which was very long and very richly braided, with diamonds and pearls interwoven in it, saying, “ See, I can pay you for what you may do for me.”

By this time I perceived from her complexion that her disorder proceeded from a weakness of the organs of digestion ; and on inquiry as to her ordinary food, I found that it consisted of zukees, water-melons, and other vegetables which are generally eaten raw. I still endeavoured to defend myself from her importunity, but was at length constrained to agree to give her something on the morrow, but at the same time observed, that what I should prescribe for her, without a radical change of regimen, would be totally useless, and that it would be necessary for her to have her vegetables dressed, and to eat with them a due proportion of animal food.

After she was gone, I began to reflect on the awkwardness of my situation. Like most other

Europeans, I had, indeed, with me, a small chest of medicine, but it was now pretty nearly exhausted; and, besides I was unwilling to attempt the use of remedies which might be attended with pernicious, or at least doubtful effects. I therefore mixed up some grains of bark with a large proportion of flour, so as to make it bulky; I divided the whole into papers, each of which might contain about three grains of the medicine, and gave it to her, when she returned next day with her attendants. It could not, I should hope, under any circumstances, do her much harm, and I have not the least doubt that the change of diet would be highly beneficial to her.

From this period I was annoyed with visitors to such a degree that it became very disagreeable to me. The reason is obvious; they have no physicians, no medical knowledge whatever: some content themselves with the assurance that all things are already arranged by the superintending care of the Supreme Being, and that any thing like medical aid infers the greatest arrogance and presumption; while others

place implicit reliance on the efficacy of amulets and charms to ward off the approaches of disease. The better-informed among them have already ceased to confide in such absurdities, but they have not the least idea of the structure of the human body ; so that it is not wonderful, when afflicted with internal diseases, that they should assail those whom they believe to be acquainted with such subjects, and with the proper remedies. A man came to me with a dropsy, and absolutely would not leave me without a prescription. Like *le Medecin malgré lui* of Moliere, I was heartily sick of my new profession ; and asking him what he liked best, he answered, to drink water ; “ Then,” said I—shall I be pardoned for the confession?—“ drink plenty !”

CHAPTER VI.

Proceed towards Tripoli.—Appearance of Mount Lebanon.—
—Pursuit of Antelopes. — Lose sight of the Caravan. —
A dilemma.—Providential escape.—A Maronite Convent.
—Savage character of the Maronite race.—The Cyclamen.
—Piercing cold.—Mountain Cedars.—Conclusion of the
journey.—Application to the British Consul.—Disappoint-
ment.—Extreme anxiety.—Description of Tripoli.—Con-
test of rival Pashas. — Anecdotes of the inhabitants.—
Alarm of the plague.—Predestinarian ideas.—Precautions
of the Author.—Method of communication.—Plan adopted
by the Consul.—Time and manner of its disappearance.—
Alarming incident.—The Pasha's apology.—Staple com-
modity.—Gorgeous attire.—Arrival of a vessel.—Difficulty
of embarking.—Reach Cyprus.—Fresh disappointments.—
Sail for Rhodes. — Convents.—Country-houses.—Turkish
ascendancy.—Privileges.—Aspect of the Island.—Sports.
—Anecdotes of birds.

I HAD the satisfaction to find that the caravan,
which was now made up to proceed towards
Tripoli, was to be guided by the same Mockra
who had brought me from Aleppo. Soon after

leaving the district of Hamah, the summit of Mount Lebanon appeared over the verge of the horizon, long before we arrived at its base.

The heavy rains of spring had swelled the mountain brooks into so many torrents, and in some places impeded the progress of the caravan, till the way became nearly impassable. About the first rise of the mountain, I had stopped some distance behind the caravan, in the hope of getting a shot at a herd of antelopes which had approached within our view. Not having succeeded, I set out, keeping the summit of the mountain as my guide to rejoin the caravan, but unfortunately took the wrong side of one of these mountain torrents, which, after I had crossed it in the morning, had swelled to such a height as to forbid my return. My situation was such, that I had no resource but to ascend the course of the stream, in the hope of its diminishing as I approached its source; and that, by the following day, at least, I should be able to overtake the caravan, which I knew was to proceed in the direction of Mount Le-

banon, and to wind its way, at a considerable elevation, along the side of the mountain.

I had with me a single Greek servant, and just before night-fall we were joined by two Arabs, whom I knew, from their small turbans, to be of the tribe of Courdines. They seemed desirous of entering into conversation, and I confess that I was rather uneasy at their approach, but took care to keep them on our left, which is the side most convenient to fire at; and as I was better armed than either of them, I thought we might possibly escape, although they should prove hostile.

After we had proceeded for some time together, I began to bethink myself of some pretence for shaking them off, and perceiving at length some houses at a distance, although not exactly in our route, I observed that I had something to say to these people, and put my horse on the sudden to a hand gallop, accompanied, of course, by my Greek servant. Had I been in an open country, and had I known precisely which way to go, I should have felt

myself perfectly safe. As it was, no accident befel us; we continued to move on at a gallop, and when I perceived that they did not follow, I pulled up my horse to determine the direction of our future progress. The mountain was sufficiently conspicuous, even after sunset, and served me for a guide, until I found myself entangled in a piece of marshy ground among the mountain torrents, where it was impossible any longer to pick my steps with safety.

In this awkward predicament I resolved to content myself, and sitting down on a stone, with my bridle in my hand, I waited patiently the approach of morning. I chose my resting-place near something like a beaten path, in the hope of some one passing who might be useful to me, but heard nothing during the night but the stork, the swan, and the pelican, many of which came close up to me, as if to examine the cause of so unusual an intrusion. Remounting at the dawn of day, I pursued the beaten track in the direction of the mountain, which after some time I began to ascend, and in the course of the day I reached a village, where,

to my great joy, I once more overtook the caravan.

Although not altogether without apprehension, I was not aware at the time of the extent of the danger I had incurred. That part of the mountain where I had passed the night I found to be inhabited by a savage and inhospitable race, who take their name, and are said to have taken their descent from the bands which were led by the Count de Drus to the Crusades. They profess the Christian religion according to the doctrines of the sect of Maronites, but their depredations are not the less violent on that account, whenever they find themselves to be strongest. Their name and their religion seem to give some probability to the descent which they claim; and it is certain that a person called the Count de Drus, made some figure at the siege of Acre. The caravan was just on the move when I arrived at the village, but the Mockra, who expressed great uneasiness for my safety, had left two men at the village to inquire after me, and direct me on my road.

The escape which I made on this occasion, illustrates very strikingly that sort of interposition which shows the weakness and insufficiency of human prudence. On that very evening several other stragglers from the caravan were picked up by the Druses, and were never more heard of; so that, if I had not wandered farther than the others, so as to be on the wrong side of the river, I should probably have shared their fate.

For two days after this adventure, we continued to ascend the mountain, by a winding course, which brought us to a very considerable elevation, but from the want of instruments, I had no means of measuring it. Here we reached a plain of such extent as to require some three or four hours to traverse it, the summit of the mountain being considerably to our left. This plain was covered with cyclamen, a flower on which we are accustomed to place some value, but here we found it the most noisome weed we had ever encountered, and to me the odour was so insufferable, that I could scarcely preserve my seat on my saddle.

Far beneath us, on our right, a large square building was to be seen, apparently in perfect repair. I was told it was a Maronite convent, and like others in that country, it was built without any doors, so as to be inaccessible to the wandering Arabs. The windows are at a great height from the ground, and by them their provisions are drawn up by means of a crane, which also enables them to leave the convent and return to it, if at any time they have occasion to do so. A small chapel was pointed out at a distance, where prayers were said in quiet times for the convenience of the Maronite inhabitants of the neighbourhood. But such is the savage character of the race, that it is said the priests do not always find themselves in safety from spoliation by the members of their own flock. Travellers are sometimes received into the convent, and are believed to be well treated; but as the building contains no accommodation for horses or other beasts of burthen, and as it would not be safe to leave such property at the mercy of the neighbouring population, the monks in these

fortified convents are not often troubled with visitors.

The plain on which the cyclamen grew so plentifully, was at such a height as to command an extensive view of the Mediterranean. The cold was piercing, and the dew during the night so heavy as to penetrate our leathern boots; and even the bales of goods, so closely packed, could not effectually exclude it. But the camels and other cattle were so much overcome with the fatigue of the ascent, that it was impossible to proceed, and here we were obliged to lodge as formerly *à la belle étoile*.

To sleep was out of the question, and would have been dangerous if we could, so that we passed the night in smoking and conversation. I confess, however, that I felt as much for my poor horse as for myself. From the time that we had quitted the low ground, to the east of the mountain, he had had nothing to eat; and I now bethought myself of applying to the camel-drivers for a bolus of rice, which, in such situations, they push down the throats of their

camels, and found that my noble steed was greatly refreshed by it.

When the sun has risen about half an hour on the mountain, the ground becomes perfectly dry, and even parched; so that, with the exception of the great field of cyclamen, we had seen no symptom of vegetation from the time we began the ascent. The upper part of the mountain was, indeed, so utterly barren, that we could not find even thistles, or any kind of vegetable matter to serve as fuel in making our coffee. It was otherwise in the course of our descent, and as soon as the word was given to halt, the whole caravan might be seen engaged with great earnestness in the preparation of that wholesome and invigorating beverage, which I need not say is uniformly used without either milk or sugar.

It may be expected that I should here say something of the celebrated cedars to which this mountain has given a name, but on the side of the mountain next the sea there is, I believe, no growing timber of any kind. I

was told, however, by an intelligent Jew who travelled with the caravan, that in a former journey which he had made by the landward side of the mountain, in travelling from Tripoli to Damascus, he had seen some remains of these stately cedars, but from the little care that was taken of them, he seemed to be apprehensive that in a very short time no trace of them would be left.

As we approached the conclusion of our journey, my anxiety to find a vessel at Tripoli going down the Mediterranean, increased to a very painful degree. I hastened to the house of the English Consul, for whom I had letters from Aleppo, and expressed my anxiety to embark in the first vessel that might sail with the probability of carrying me in the direction of the British shore, but to my unspeakable disappointment, I found that there was not a vessel in the harbour whose destination was down the Mediterranean. This feeling of disappointment was no doubt shared with me in common by many of my fellow-travellers, but I will venture to say, that few of them

had cause of uneasiness at all analogous to mine, or felt, as I did, the paramount necessity of reaching home within a period which was rapidly passing by. * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

Patience in this dilemma was my only remedy, so that I had much more opportunity than taste or inclination to examine the town and its neighbourhood, and observe the manners of its inhabitants. The town is still a place of some trade, although not on so extensive a scale as in former times. While I remained in it, the peace of the inhabitants was greatly disturbed by the contests of two rival Pashas, who were equally unwelcome to the people, because they were regarded as alike the instruments of oppression. The retainers of either party, when they met in the streets, in general engaged in altercation, which often ended in blows, and when such skirmishing occurred, the inhabitants withdrew within their own houses, and shut up their shops, which in

small towns are open to the street, and not as in cities, like Aleppo, inclosed in extensive bazars. The salesman sits patiently with his legs across, and never opens his mouth to any one until addressed by a purchaser.

Soon after my arrival at Tripoli, I wanted some trifling matter connected with my saddle, and seeing a shop containing such articles as I wanted, I entered it, and, saluting the cross-legged inhabitant, he desired me to advance and to ascend two steps of a platform, on which he was elevated, and sit down beside him. Like others, in walking about, I had my pipe in my hand, and first of all he offered me tobacco, and then a dish of coffee, both of which I accepted.

“Now, Effendi,” said the saddler, when we had finished our coffee, “in what can I serve you?” I showed him it was a strap, indeed a matter of so trifling a nature that I could not help regretting that so much civility had been thrown away on so poor a customer, but afterwards I found that such was the universal practice of the place; for having occasion to

make purchases of various kinds, I uniformly experienced the same sort of treatment.

About to return home, as I fondly imagined after a long absence, I had many purchases to make of shawls and other articles for presents for my family and friends, and Tripoli was a place where articles of Eastern manufacture were to be had at rates comparatively cheap. Although the English Consul, in whose house I lodged, was extremely civil to me, yet I could not bring myself to enjoy the flattering attentions I received even before the town was overtaken by that dreadful malady the plague.

As soon as the first indications of it had appeared, the alarm became general and intense among the higher classes of people in the place. It was otherwise with the lower orders. These you would constantly hear exclaiming as they passed along the streets, *Mash Alla!* It is the will of God; and so far did they carry these predestinarian notions, that many of them took little or no precaution against the spreading of the contagion.

After shutting up the house in which we

lived, the first object of our care was to destroy, as far as possible, every furred animal about the premises, such as cats and dogs, and even rats and mice and other vermin, for it is generally believed that the contagion may be communicated even by a mouse running over the bed of an infected house and carrying it on its rough coat to the dwellings of the healthy through which it may pass in quest of food.

In towns like Tripoli, which are frequently visited by the plague, precautions are taken in the manner of constructing the houses for excluding, as far as possible, the danger of contagion, at the same time that arrangements are made for holding communication with those without. In the wall of the court-yard, for instance, a cistern is generally fixed, so as that one end should project each way beyond the plane of the wall, and when filled with water, every other avenue being shut, the master of the house enjoys the assurance that nothing can reach him until it has passed through this purifying medium. Large stores of flour,

and other least perishable articles, are kept in every house, ready against the approach of such a calamity ; and on the first alarm, these stores, if deficient, are so increased as to complete the necessaries of life. Fowls, meat, and other articles, are received through the cistern, and letters are passed through a grill in the outer door of the court-yard, and immediately on being received are carefully fumigated or soaked in vinegar, when they may be read without apprehension.

After these precautions are taken, the inhabitants within doors gradually cease to discover any symptoms of alarm. Soon after the Consul, who was a person considerably advanced in life, had ascertained that the plague was actually in the town, and that we must necessarily be locked up together for a considerable time, he abated the rigorous custom of the country, which imposes an absolute separation of the sexes, and was so good as to present me to his wife, a young person little more than twelve years of age. We were accustomed to go to her apartments to drink coffee after din-

ner, and found her pretty and well-behaved ; but it would have been wonderful if so young a person, who had all her life perhaps been immured within four walls, had possessed much intelligence or knowledge of the world.

It was yet in the month of February when the plague began, and we were kept by it in durance till the middle of summer. It seemed to end suddenly, and the day on which its ravages were arrested was St. John's day, and long before that period it was predicted that it would terminate at the time it did ; so that there is probably some connection, as the non-contagionists allege, between the appearance of the plague and the state of the atmosphere. I can only say, that at the time of its disappearance the Etesian wind blew regularly and strongly.

When I first walked out, I was attended by the secretary of the Consul, who pointed out to me a number of empty shops and houses ; but so little did the inhabitants in general seem to care for this dreadful malady, that we saw them

actually selling the old clothes of those who had expired under its influence. Many scenes of misery were of course the result of this awful visitation. Walking one evening in the Consul's garden, we heard, in the arbours of one adjoining, the plaintive accents of a female voice. They were those of a lady of rank bemoaning herself to a friend on the loss of her husband and three children, who had all been carried off by this indiscriminating scourge of humanity. She was left alone, she said, to deplore her loss; and she complained in her misery of the injustice of Providence in not permitting her to accompany those with whom she had bound up the whole affections of her heart.

The dissensions of the rival Pashas were scarcely interrupted by the ravages of the plague. One of them was in possession of the castle; and in firing on the troops of his antagonist, a cannon shot had taken effect in the cupola of the Consul's house, to the great alarm of the family. As soon as it was made known to the party who had committed the aggression,

a deputation was sent to us with a long-winded excuse, which was accepted the more readily, as it did not happen to do us any serious harm.

Silk is the great staple of Tripoli and its neighbourhood : the country around it is said to produce the finest in the world. It is greatly prized by the Turks, who are known to be partial to gorgeous attire; and this silk is said to be remarkable for the facility with which it receives, and the permanence with which it retains, the brightest colours.

At length a small ship arrived in the harbour, which had come from Candia, the ancient Crete, and on sending for the Reis, or master of the ship, he informed me that he was bound for Cyprus. That, indeed, was a course far different from that which I was so desirous of pursuing ; but as the ports of Cyprus were much more frequented than those on the continent, and as I was heartily sick of Tripoli, where I had suffered so much disappointment and anxiety, I resolved to avail myself of the opportunity which was thus presented of leaving the place which had been so long my prison.

The harbour of Tripoli is so incommoded with rocks, that the vessel, from its draught of water, could not be brought near to the shore. Thus, after I had completed the necessary arrangements for my departure, I found the greatest difficulty in embarking my horse, which I should not, probably, have been enabled to accomplish, but for the ingenuity and dexterity of an English sailor who happened to be on board. I was so much pleased with this man's address, and with his general character, that I afterwards engaged him as a servant, and had every reason to be contented with the fidelity and zeal with which he continued to discharge his domestic duties.

He was not, indeed, very deeply read in the mysteries of the Christian religion. I asked him one day as to the nature of his faith, and his knowledge of Christ and Christianity; but, like many others of his country and his profession, he acted much more on feeling and sentiment, than from knowledge or reflection. Among those classes of the Greek population with whom he associated, he found a great deal of suppleness and cun-

ning, which placed them in very unfavourable contrast with the general character of the Turks for honesty and integrity.

After we had fairly put to sea, I was rather apprehensive as to the fate of my horse, for whom there was no place to stow him away, and who would probably have proved unmanageable had we been overtaken by foul weather. I scarcely expected, indeed, to see him safe ashore; but, favoured by summer breezes, we made a fortunate passage to Cyprus, and my fears were removed by the dexterity of the English sailor.

My first object at Cyprus was to inquire for a vessel going down the Mediterranean, but again disappointment awaited me. I then applied to the Reis of the vessel which had brought me from Tripoli, as to his farther destination, when he said it would depend upon the loading he should get at Cyprus, but that it would probably be for Rhodes. Thus I was once more obliged to sit down, with what patience I might, to await the issue of his tardy movements; and in the mean time I paid the visits which were due to such of my old friends as were within

my reach. At length I was assured by the Reis that he was ready for sea, and that he was to sail for Rhodes with the first fair wind. I then purchased half a dozen jars of ortolans, and as many casks of Cyprus wine, as presents for my friends at home ; and as no other vessel had arrived with a more desirable destination, I once more embarked with my former Reis, and was soon under sail, as I imagined, for Rhodes.

When we had stretched along the coast of Anatolia for a considerable distance, I observed that, a land-breeze having sprung up, the Reis seemed to bear away for the Island of Candia ; and as there I should have no chance of a vessel to suit my purpose, I insisted on his fulfilling his agreement and carrying me to Rhodes. But in all probability I should not have succeeded with him, if the British power, by the possession of Malta, had not at that period been paramount in the Mediterranean. I was obliged to assume a very serious aspect, and to threaten to denounce his vessel to the English cruizers, by whom, I told him, she would sooner or later be made a prize. After some altercation he

at length gave way, and bore up for Rhodes ; where, that we might not part on bad terms, I succeeded in saving him from the payment of certain dues which he wished to avoid, from the influence which I happened to possess with the British authorities at that time in possession of the island.

At Rhodes I found the same difficulty as at other places in finding a vessel going down the Mediterranean, as at this season of the year they were all upward bound to receive their cargoes. Thinking it probable that by leaving Rhodes I might abandon the best chance of reaching home, I resolved to submit with patience to the cruel state of suspense in which I was placed. At first, as is customary in those countries, if you mean to be comfortable, I went to lodge at the convent in Rhodes. One of these establishments is generally to be found in every considerable town. Strangers are always welcome, are permitted to see company, and are civilly treated. It is true, that they are expected to pay for their accommodations with becoming liberality ; but no demand is made on the vi-

sitors, who make such a remuneration to the monks as their circumstances or disposition may dictate.

These convents are protected by the Turks for their own convenience. As compared with those parts of Asia which I had an opportunity of visiting, Turkey may be regarded as far advanced in civilization; but, so far as my observation extends, the Arab is to be considered as a better and more trustworthy man than the Turk.

After I had made some stay in the convent, and seeing no hope of immediate relief, I thought it better to take a house for myself at some little distance from the town. The country-houses in the neighbourhood of Rhodes are usually built on the same general plan. They are strong, massy, square buildings, with narrow entrances so contrived as to present a variety of obstacles to a forcible entry. At one of the corners there is always a little tower to command a view of the country, and enable the inhabitants to observe every object that approaches. Every thing necessary for the convenience

of the inhabitants is included within the four walls of the building; so that, in the strictest sense of the term, a rural mansion at Rhodes is what would be called in Edinburgh a house within itself, or a self-contained house.

Houses of this description are occupied by the Jewish and Greek inhabitants of the island, from the constant apprehension under which they live of insult and aggression from their Turkish neighbours. Such attacks would not be openly sanctioned by the public authorities, but the degraded casts are treated, nevertheless, with unyielding hauteur and contumely, if not with actual violence and oppression, by their more fortunate countrymen. When a Jew or a Greek, mounted on his ass—for he is not permitted to ride on horseback—nay, if a dozen of them so mounted were to meet a Turk in the way, they must all dismount and stand still until the Turk thinks proper to pass.

In consequence of this and similar badges of degradation, the more respectable and wealthy of the Greek and Jewish inhabitants are accustomed to apply to the ambassadors of the

great European powers for some nominal appointment in connection with the embassy. Such appointments are recognized by the Turks as conferring certain privileges, and among others an immunity from such marks of degradation as I have just alluded to. In conformity with the manners of the country, a present, of more or less value, is always given to the ambassador on receiving the appointment, and some are so considerable as to add very materially to the emoluments not merely of the envoy himself, but of several officers attached to his suite.

The country around Rhodes abounds with game. It is beautifully diversified by hill and dale, shade and water. These, and particularly the last, are rare advantages in the Greek islands. At Rhodes there are no game laws; and, for myself at least, I can say, that I met with no obstruction in the enjoyments of the sports of the field. The chief objects of pursuit are the hare, the partridge, and the jelinote. This last is a bird not unlike our moor game, but of the size of a partridge. I had not seen

them elsewhere, excepting in the neighbourhood of Spa, in Germany. The partridge of the island is twice as large as ours in England; his plumage is beautiful, his legs red, of course, and he is as bold as he is handsome. In the convent at Rhodes I had a tame one in my room, so tame that the windows were left open, and he would frequently go out and return to me. The weather being hot, I generally slept with my chamber window open; in the morning he would sometimes hop on my bed and disturb me, when I would gently push him away and go to sleep again.

On one occasion I thought him more troublesome than usual, and on looking about me I perceived that he had got a companion in the room with him, a wild one, who had been attracted by the call of my old inmate. In consequence of the facility with which the cock partridge is tamed, they have a manner of shooting at Rhodes which is very agreeable to an indolent sportsman. The tame bird is trained to call, upon a signal given to him by the sportsman. He is put into a cage and

carried to a thicket where the mastic berry abounds. The sportsman conceals himself behind a bush adjoining to an opening in the thicket and gives the signal.

In a favourable situation, I have seen so many as twenty and thirty round the cage. You mark down and shoot the most distant, and with good management you may kill the whole covey, or rather collection of coveys gathered by the call, for as soon as the jerk is repeated they are sure to return. This mode of training is called the dressing of the cock partridge: I have not heard of its being attempted in England, but I do not see why it should not succeed. From such excursions I never failed to come home loaded with game. I began to shoot early in the morning, and adapting myself to the manners of the country, I had my pipe, my carpet, and my coffee-pot carried out with me. After taking some refreshment, I went to sleep during the heat of the day, and in the afternoon renewed my sport before returning home.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Rhodes.—Sail for Malaga.—Tardy progress of the vessel.—Knights of Rhodes.—Of St. John, of Malta.—Old Rhodes.—Ruins and Paintings.—Grandeess of the Empire.—The Bowstring.—Turkish Tombs.—Monuments.—Meet an armed corvette.—Boarded and carried into Marseilles.—Perform quarantine.—Providor of the Lazaretto.—Ludicrous and affecting incident.—Generals Hulan, Desaix.—Answer of Lord Keith.—Port of Marseilles.—Galley Slaves.—Loss of a vessel.—Sir John Jervis.—Armenian Residents.—Sail for France.—Treatment of Prisoners.—Female Police.—The Russian Ambassador.—Count de Lauriston.—The Arabian Horse.—Offer of Buonaparte.—Prince of Condé.—Visit to Chantilly.—Imperial courtesy.—Companions in captivity.—Sir Alexander Don.—Mr. Hamilton.—Mr. Fitzgerald.—Lord Boyle.—Madame Sassen.—A general custom.

My mode of life, as before described, had lasted for some time, when at length, to my great contentment, a Ragusine vessel arrived in

the harbour, whose destination was Malaga, or some other port in Spain. I went immediately to the town, and concluded a bargain for the passage of myself, my horse, and two servants, the one a Greek, named George, the other my Christian friend, John Smith the sailor.

John Smith had more than his due share of those national peculiarities by which his countrymen are supposed to be distinguished; to these were superadded the bluntness of the sailor and the gravity of the Turk. In his hatred of Greek cunning, he had acquired a sort of veneration for the Turkish character, and he rejoiced at the instance which occurred during our stay at Rhodes of comparing the two races to the disadvantage of the Greeks.

Immediately on our arrival at Rhodes, he asked my leave to go to Candia, to claim some wages which were due to him by a Turkish master-mariner, his former Reis. He sailed in a Greek boat, and was charged exorbitantly for his passage; but on his arrival at Candia he received what was due to him,

amounting to about twenty pounds, and was hospitably entertained by the Reis, until he found a *Saccolava*, or large Turkish sloop, to carry him back to Rhodes. He embarked in it, and arrived in safety long before the opportunity occurred for my leaving the island. When he went down to the port on the following morning to pay for his passage and provisions, the people absolutely refused to take any of his money. That he might not be outdone in civility, he invited the whole of the crew to a repast on shore. A number of them came and partook of what was offered to them, with the exception of wine and spirits, which were presented but declined.

The only luxuries in which they indulged were sweetmeats and iced water ; and although the guests were sober, the company, I believe, were each of them happy in his own way ; though I have no doubt it must have been a sight sufficiently ludicrous to have seen the master of the feast, who did not deny himself a large proportion of what he had prepared for his guests, assuming that grave and solemn deportment in

his cups, which he had habitually borrowed from the guests who were so much the objects of his admiration.

The tardy movements of the Ragusine afforded me ample leisure, after I had secured my passage, to review the town of Rhodes, many parts of which are well worthy of observation. The place is of considerable extent, and many of the houses are remarkably well built. The street of the Knights, in particular, deserves a traveller's attention; and I am bound to observe, in justice to the Turks, that they have not been so barbarous as to destroy, because they could not value, the arms and crosses by which the houses of the Knights of Rhodes are distinguished, consecrated, and adorned.

The French discovered a very different spirit in taking possession of Malta. With the single exception of the Church of St. John, which is truly a magnificent structure, they had the barbarity to destroy every relic of the Order for which that island has been so famous. The arms of the Knights are still preserved, indeed, on the marble pavement of the Church of St.

John, most curiously inlaid in a beautiful and ingenious kind of mosaic. At Rhodes, every tower and bulwark is marked by some inscription, with the name and arms of the grand-master, or individual knight by whom they were erected. Towards the land, the town is very strongly fortified in the ancient manner, the whole being surrounded by a deep ditch, which, with the ramparts, has been cut out of the solid rock. The greater part of these immense works are in excellent preservation, and the place could still be made of very considerable strength, at a moderate expense. Such is the dryness of the atmosphere, that the marks of the chisel can still be distinctly seen on the inclined plane of the glacis as fresh and sharp as when it was originally formed.

The town itself is built in form of a crescent, the two horns or extremities of which inclose the two harbours. These might both be well adapted to the accommodation of ships of considerable burden, if the Turks were only to enact and enforce a regulation, by which the merchantmen who come to them should be

compelled to deposit their ballast at some convenient station on the outside. As it is, the harbours are in progress of being gradually filled up; and if the practice continues, they must by and by be unfitted for any useful purpose.

Immediately beyond the fortifications, in every direction towards the country, there is nothing to be seen but graves. They are formed with great care, of bricks and cement, in the form of an arch, but without any vault or vacuum. Each grave is distinguished by a sort of headstone, with a turban carved on it, and frequently some symbol of the profession of the individual whom it is intended to commemorate, but without any name or date.

About six miles from the town, a collection of ruins are to be seen, distinguished by the name of Old Rhodes. These remains are situated on a considerable eminence; and although much fallen into decay, there are still substructions and underground work of great extent, in a tolerable state of preservation. The walls of these subterraneous buildings are covered

with plaster, and painted with Scripture-pieces. Among others I could recognize the history of Joseph, and the colours in general were remarkably fresh and vivid. I am not antiquarian enough to fix the date of these pictures, or of the buildings on which they are preserved; but as the Turks have been in possession of the island for upwards of three hundred years, I suppose it will be conceded that these works must be of still higher antiquity. They are doubtless to be ascribed to the period when the Knights enjoyed that wealth and distinction which gave them so high a place in European history. The style, in general, seemed to me to be Italian. I remember in particular the face of a beautiful woman, which in form and expression appeared to me to be strictly European. The mantle and drapery, as well as the face, seemed as fresh as if the work had been newly executed. At a greater distance from Rhodes, about thirty miles off, the ruins of Lindo are still to be seen.

It is generally known that Rhodes has long been a place of exile for the grandees of the

empire, many of whom are sent here to end their days. Their burying places are ranged along the beach. They consist of small cupolas, generally about twenty feet high, supported by pillars. The interior is open on all sides, and they are not distinguished by names or dates. It seldom happens that a prisoner of state, who is sent into exile by the Turkish Government, is suffered to die a natural death. The Capize Baché is generally sent to him with the bowstring within a period which varies, I believe, from one year to five. When the messenger arrives with the mandate for the death of the exile, he applies it to his head, in token of submission, kisses it, and yields to his fate.

Another peculiarity remains to be noticed as to the mode of interment among the Turks. The right of burial is held to be paramount to the right of property; so that when a person dies in a Turkish town, his relations carry him into the country, and deposit his remains in any part of your property or mine they may think fit to select. The proprietor of the ground is not entitled to object to the proceeding, nor

even to interrupt the friends and relations of the deceased in their future access to the tomb. Thus it happens that solitary monuments are to be seen scattered over the fields, and generally in situations best calculated for picturesque effect. Around these monuments groups of mourners are often to be seen of an afternoon, assembled to weep over their departed friends, sometimes even at the distance of years. But it would be inconsistent with the Turkish character if they departed on such occasions from their staid and methodical habits. When they come to weep, they come also with their usual comforts of coffee and tobacco.

Of the Greek islands, I may say in general that Rhodes and Zante are the most beautiful of all those that I had an opportunity of visiting, and Zante has the additional advantage of being protected by a range of mountains from the westerly winds, which in that quarter are the most prevalent.

The ship in which I had taken my passage, and which had taken in a cargo of cotton at Cyprus to be carried to the Spanish coast of the

Mediterranean, was at length ready for sea. Our voyage continued to be prosperous until we approached the Gulf of Lyons, when we descried an armed corvette, which from the first we suspected to be French, and it was not long in confirming our fears by boarding us and taking possession of the vessel. This occurred at a late hour in the evening, and on the following afternoon we were carried into Marseilles. Thus all hopes of reaching home were indefinitely deferred, and it seemed as if some fatality had attended me to obstruct the progress of my return from the period when I first received the intelligence which made that return so necessary.

The first order which reached us on our arrival at Marseilles, was that all on board of the corvette, as well as of the prize, should go into quarantine for three months. Our bills of health happened to be foul, and the crew of the corvette having boarded us without inquiry, and disregarded the instructions they had received, to make us follow them into port, while they had admitted of promiscuous intercourse between the two ships' crew, they

were necessarily involved in the danger of contagion, and ordered to observe the laws of quarantine for the same period with ourselves. I need scarcely add, that the period of confinement might have been indefinitely prolonged by the occurrence of a death among the crew towards the close of the time which was first prescribed to us.

I have known of an instance where a ship's company, in consequence of successive deaths, had thus been kept in durance for more than a year. Nor, in so far as I have been able to observe, can I see how the hardship of such a lengthened confinement can reasonably be complained of, if it be true, as is universally believed in those countries where the malady most frequently appears, that it is communicated exclusively, at least with a certainty almost invariable, by contact or contagion. The Marseillois, at least, had some reason to be cautious, from the visitation they met with about the beginning of the last century, when they lost not less than 120,000 souls. On that lamentable occasion, the clergy were most con-

spicuous for their benevolence and self-devotion, many of them receiving the subtle virus of the malady when in the performance of the last sad offices for the sick and the dying. These praiseworthy exertions are still matter of grateful tradition in the place, and the old Bishop of the period is spoken of with the deepest veneration, as having personally led on his clergy in this perilous undertaking, in which a great proportion of them perished, while he himself outlived the general desolation to receive the acknowledgments of the survivors.

The quarantine ground at Marseilles is of great extent, including a space of at least three miles in circumference, and the regulations by which it is governed, are so contrived as to afford every possible facility for a free communication between those in confinement and the world at large. At the gate of the quarantine ground, a bureau is established for the purpose of facilitating parole or oral intercourse between the probationers within, and the strangers without. This bureau is divided longitudinally by two rows of strong wooden bars,

arranged in parallel lines, reaching from the floor to the ceiling, and placed at such a distance as to leave a vacant space of eight feet between them, across which there is no passage. Strangers are admitted into the gallery next the town; and on that next the lazaretto the patients have access, but always under the inspection of the guardians of health, whose business it is to see that no actual contact takes place between the patients under different periods of probation.

Attended by one of these guardians, you are permitted to take exercise within the quarantine grounds, and even to interchange visits with your fellow-prisoners, subject always to the inspection of the attendants of the lazaretto, whose duty it is to regulate such intercourse.

I have even sat at the dinner-table with persons whose periods of confinement were longer, as well as shorter, than my own; but if contact had taken place between persons limited to unequal terms, that of the shortest would have been equalized with the longest.

The provisor of the lazaretto is a person who

never leaves the grounds, and keeps a sort of cookshop on a very extensive scale, and furnishes provisions to the inmates as they require them. During the period of my confinement, there was a great deal of company in the lazaretto, and it was usual, for the sake of a better dinner, that three or four should mess together. At the commencement of the period, I had for my associates an English Captain, just returned from India, and a French General, Hulan, afterwards Governor of Paris, with two other French officers. General Hulan had a horse with him, which he brought from Algiers, but he readily admitted that his Barb was inferior in almost every point to my Arabian.

The monotony of our quarantine life was for some time interrupted by an incident which was at once ridiculous and tragical. In a fit of heedless folly, a young man, who had come passenger in a ship unprovided with clean bills of health, having wearied of his confinement, contrived to make his escape from the quarantine grounds by clambering over the wall by which it was surrounded. The whole *possé* of

police and inspectors were immediately on foot to discover his retreat; as, from their extreme vigilance, no event can happen in the lazaretto without their becoming speedily acquainted with it. The young man was traced to a house of more than doubtful character, and the premises were immediately surrounded, every individual in it, guests and inmates, visitors and visited, being carried indiscriminately to the lazaretto.

The laws of quarantine are known to be severe, and it was thought necessary on this occasion to make an example of the young man, who had committed so daring a breach of the sanitary regulations. I am not aware of the form of trial, or whether any form is pursued on such occasions, where the fact of infringement is so open to observation as that of breaking out of confinement. The result, however, was made known by proclamation to the inmates of the lazaretto, who were all required to attend and witness the execution of the culprit. He was brought out and exposed to the general view, under the windows of the

principal building, where a priest attended him to receive his confession. He was then conveyed to a boat, which was towed by another containing a party of soldiers, a little way off from the shore, but so as still to be within view of the spectators.

On a signal from the land, the soldiers rose, presented and fired, after which the boat containing the dead body was immediately sunk. I am no advocate, in general, for sanguinary punishments, but if measures like those of quarantine be necessary to prevent the spread of contagious diseases, the regulations for enforcing them must be guarded by the imposition of penal sanctions. Capital punishment, indeed, cannot always be defended on the ground either of necessity or expediency, and I am convinced that the most hardened offenders would in general be more effectually deterred from the commission of crime by hard labour and solitary confinement, than by the transitory terrors of a public execution.

The ludicrous part of the transaction was to be found in the strange discoveries which were

made by the good people of Marseilles, as to the habits of some of their townsmen, who were thus added to the list of probationers in the lazaretto. They cut, in truth, a very awkward figure in the unexpected predicament into which they had brought themselves. They were permitted, of course, the usual indulgence of conversing with their friends from the town, in the bureau at the entrance of the grounds, but were constrained to suffer a confinement of three months with the best grace they could. I did not hear that any of the new inmates had contributed to the spread of the plague.

After General Hulan and some of my earlier associates had been relieved, a party of Jews and Italian singers arrived at the lazaretto, and joining the little mess I had formed, contributed in some degree to enable me to pass the time less irksomely.

Although not exactly in the chronological order of events, I may here mention a circumstance which is recalled by that of which I have now been speaking. General Desaix, on his return to France from Egypt, was, with a number of

other prisoners, brought into Leghorn, at that time in possession of the English. The French soldiers were sadly affected with ophthalmia, many of them in a state of darkness from that shocking disease, so that it was necessary to send the whole of them to perform quarantine. Desaix sent a message to Lord Keith, to remonstrate against the order which included him, a General officer, in the restraint which was thus inflicted on his troops. Perhaps the message had reached Lord Keith in a moment of ill-humour, or he thought it necessary to evince the rooted dislike which he felt for the revolutionary doctrines by which France had so long been governed. His Lordship's answer was, that he regretted the fortune of war should have subjected a person of General Desaix's merit to so great a hardship, but the laws of quarantine, he said, were sacred, and he understood, from the motto of liberty and equality which the French had assumed, that they had abandoned those distinctions of rank on which the General's claims to exemption were founded.

The port of Marseilles is well suited for the accommodation of ships of moderate burden, being perfectly land-locked, and sufficiently capacious; but from its draught of water it is not capable of admitting a man-of-war. I happened to be in the *Alarm*, with Sir John Jervis, when she ran ashore in the Gulf of Lyons, about six miles from the port. A large hole was struck out in her bottom, but she did not immediately go down, from a circumstance which was thought to be somewhat remarkable. The leak occurred immediately under the bread-room, which being filled with water, so softened the bread as to hinder the ship from filling as fast as it otherwise would have done, and enabled us to make the port of Marseilles, although not without much difficulty, and with the loss of our masts, which, from the state of the weather, it had become necessary to cut away.

On reaching the port, we caused it to be understood on shore that we were desirous of having an anchor carried out to seaward of the ship. In compliance with our request, a boat was sent from the shore with twenty-five galley-slaves on

board, who were promised their liberty if they succeeded in accomplishing the object of their mission. Unhappily they did not succeed; the boat was swamped within our view; the state of the sea and the weather was such as to make relief impossible, and every life on board was lost. The galleys are no longer sent to sea, but they are still employed as the means of public punishment; and the practice of compelling a culprit to labour for the public good is surely quite as humane as to hang him; and I have not the least doubt that it is even more effectual for the great object of punishment, the prevention of crime. The labour of a galley-slave is very severe; some are condemned for terms of years, and some for the whole period of life.

It is true, that, like other places of confinement, they are likely enough to harden the offender, and put him in the way of acquiring a knowledge and dexterity in crime; but these are evils which are in some degree inseparable from every species of restraint, although they may no doubt be alleviated by those distinctions which are now observed in well-conducted pri-

sons, between the tried and untried, the old and the young offender. Yet, it must be admitted, that every such arrangement can only amount to a modification of the evil, and that the most guarded and selected intercourse between criminal prisoners is invariably attended with some degree of moral contamination.

Soon after the *Alarm* was got into the harbour of Marseilles, she sunk in such a situation as that the water came over her upper deck. Sir John Jervis was known to be a strict disciplinarian, but his discipline was applied with equal severity to himself as to those under his command. A large Swedish ship was engaged for the accommodation of the officers and crew, until the *Alarm* could be taken up and repaired, and the Admiral was perhaps the only individual who never went ashore until his object was accomplished. When not on duty, the men as well as the officers had occasional leave to go into the town; and I should be sorry to join in the idea which has gone abroad regarding him, that he was more severe in his discipline than the good of the service required.

The world knows that he was a good seaman and a gallant officer, and these are qualities which might well atone for some little excess in what he doubtless conceived to be an imperative duty.

The Port-major of Marseilles discovered the greatest zeal and assiduity in rendering his assistance to the Admiral in raising and refitting the ship ; and as his rank was such as to make it impossible to offer him a pecuniary compensation, Sir John Jervis wrote home to the Admiralty, detailing the services which the Port-major had rendered to his Majesty's ship, observing that it would be necessary to send him a piece of plate, which, he said, should be of the value of 500*l*. Some objection was made to the amount of the remuneration, which, to a person of Sir John's decided character, was not very agreeable. The plate was immediately ordered at his own expense, and the Admiralty was informed that it was done for the good of the service. It was well known that Sir John was not a rich man, and I am happy to add, that, on reconsidering the matter, the Admiralty did

not permit him to suffer by his generosity. These events occurred on one of the occasions when I was on my way to join my regiment at Minorca. I remained at Marseilles until the *Alarm* was refitted, when I returned with the Admiral on board. On getting out to sea, I expressed my surprise how desperately the ship rolled, when Sir John made me observe that it arose from the smallness of her masts, which could not be had of the necessary size in the dock-yard at Marseilles.

An order had arrived for the transmission of the English prisoners to Paris, on their being released from the Lazaretto. Accordingly we set out, attended in the usual manner by an escort of *gens-d'armes*. But I must not carry my reader from this scene of mercantile enterprise without offering my tribute of respect and acknowledgment to those Amerian residents in the place, from whom, at the time of our departure, we received, I may say, universally the most liberal offers of service. To the lower class of prisoners, their attentions con-

sisted of real and substantial benefits in money and clothes.

Our travelling allowance from the French Government was less than moderate; we were of course deprived of our arms, and I had on this occasion the mortification to lose the sword which I had received from the Ionian Presidency, and which to me had a value far beyond its intrinsic worth. Prisoners of the lowest class received the same allowance with their superiors; but as the pittance was scarcely sufficient for mere existence, the hardship was of course greater to those who had acquired the habits of gentlemen. We were compelled, in fact, to defray our own charges, were made to travel very slow, and upon the whole were treated strictly and not well.

On our arrival at Paris, we were placed under the surveillance of that abominable system of espionage for which the government of Bonaparte was so much distinguished. The restrictions imposed upon us were, that we should not pass the barriers of Paris, that we should

show ourselves every morning to the Police, and that such of us as were thought worthy of so much attention should receive one of their agents as an inmate in his house. Even in England it is now generally known that these agents were often women possessing the requisites of a decent exterior, unscrupulous virtue, and consummate address. I could mention many individuals well known in the world who were thus trammelled, among the numerous *detenus* who were seized in passing through the French territories during the short peace of 1802. Acquiescence in the system prescribed by the police was, no doubt, in some degree compensated by a relaxation of other restraints, and that in particular which made it necessary for the prisoners to show themselves every morning at the nearest police office.

At the time of my arrival at Paris, I found myself in very bad health; and the intelligence which I soon afterwards received from Scotland, through the medium of the American ambassador, who was kind enough to forward and receive letters for me under his envelope,

did not tend either to improve my health, or to relieve the miseries of an imprisonment of undefined duration. At length I became so ill, that it was impossible for me to attend the bureau of the police, and the miserable alternative was presented to me of receiving one of their female agents, or of going to the hospital. I chose the former, and I have lived to lament that I did so. It may be said, that as a choice was presented to me, it is not for me to exclaim against the principles of a government who thus virtually sanctioned a system of immorality. As an *argumentum ad hominum*, I bow to the justice of the criticism, but not as a defence of the government by whom the alternative was proposed. The female branch of the system of espionage had probably its origin in the superintendence which is taken, and the tax in the form of license which is exacted from women of a certain character; and from making them the instruments of taxation, the step was easy to make them the instruments of the police.

The gradual exhaustion of my finances made it necessary for me to think of selling my

horse ; a measure to which I became more easily reconciled, when I reflected on the probability of his being taken from me without the ceremony of a purchase. I heard that the Russian ambassador, Count Markoff, was likely to buy him. I waited on the ambassador, and told him that I had a horse to dispose of, which I thought might suit his Imperial master, and, as I placed a large price upon him, it was only in a person of the highest that I could hope to find a purchaser. Count Markoff's answer was, that he could not buy him on the instant, but that he would write home for instructions.

In the mean time I received offers for the horse from several French officers of rank, but the sums they proposed were far from being adequate to the most moderate idea of the animal's value. Soon afterwards I met in society with General the Count de Lauriston, one of Bonaparte's Aids-de-camp, whom I had known before as a countryman, and who claimed kindred with me, as being mutually related to the family of Argyle. The subject of the Arabian

was one of our topics of conversation. I told him that I should be under the necessity of selling the horse, and mentioned the sums which had been offered for him by some of his brother officers.

In a few days a gentleman whom I did not know waited upon me, and said that he was authorized to make a purchase of the horse, if we could agree upon terms. I mentioned what had been offered to me, and said, at the same time, that if he were in England, I should have put 1500*l.* upon him ; but in consequence of the situation in which I found myself at the moment, I was ready to conclude for 600*l.* When I specified with some expression of impatience the trifling sums which had been previously offered, the gentleman observed, that the person who sent him there could probably pay for the horse according to his value ; and when I inquired for the name of his constituent, he answered with some hesitation that it was—the *Emperor*. This disclosure afforded me a ray of hope, that by this means I might obtain my personal liberty ; and the idea was at least natural to a

person in my situation. As soon as the thought had flashed across my mind, I proposed to the gentleman to offer the horse as a present to the Emperor. He expressed no opinion as to the propriety of this proposal, but said that he would communicate it in the proper quarter, and give me an answer in a day or two. He returned within the time appointed, and said that it was impossible for the Emperor to accept of any thing from a prisoner, but that he would give me my price. The horse was accordingly sent to the Imperial stables, and with the fanfaronade which Bonaparte affected in all his actions, he sent me 1200 louis d'ors in place of six, a reinforcement to the weak state of my finances, which at the moment was particularly seasonable, as at this period I had very little prospect of being speedily able to recruit them from home.

I resolved, therefore, to husband my little store with the greatest care ; and, in point of fact, I contrived to subsist upon it for a considerable portion of the period of my imprisonment.

Soon after the period of the first restoration,

I was invited to visit a family, perhaps the most illustrious which any nation in Europe can boast. The Prince of Condé I had known in early life. On my arrival at Chantilly, the Prince was pleased to place me, when we sat to dinner, between himself and his son, the Duke de Bourbon. As I knew that old soldiers enjoyed those topics of conversation which had a reference to their early exploits, I took an opportunity of leading to the services of the Prince in the Seven Years' War, which, without any flattery, might fairly be spoken of as highly honourable to the arms of France. The Prince of Condé had commanded at the battle of Johannesberg against the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, and after an obstinate combat had gained the victory. I could not be said to have been present at the battle, although it may be recollected that I was sent by General Moston from his quarters, about five miles off, to ascertain the result, and was of some service to the Hereditary Prince and his Aid-de-camp, Sir Henry Clinton, who had both been wounded, in carrying them from the field.

The guest of a man like the Prince of Condé, it was necessary that I should suit my conversation to his humour. I therefore said to him, that we saw it was his Highness's intention to take us in flank. This might be very true for aught I know to the contrary; at all events, it hit the humour of the moment, as the veteran commander rejoined with great eagerness, "Exactly, that was just my intention." On this the Duke de Bourbon, who saw, perhaps, more clearly how the matter stood, tapped me familiarly on the arm, saying—"Ah, Sir, you have lived too long at court." If not exactly the truth, what I had said was what the French perhaps liked better; it was at once civilly meant, and had the advantage of a sufficient degree of the *vraisemblance*, and we naturally do not wish to offend a man who gives us good shooting and an excellent dinner.

The reader may recollect the opportunity which I enjoyed, when in charge of the government of the Ionian Islands, of relieving some forty prisoners from the French army from the

captivity to which they were destined on board two Salletine rovers, which had entered the bay of Zante in quest of wood and water. The address which they made to me on their departure, I found the means of transmitting through a channel which brought it under the notice of the Emperor, and to that circumstance I am disposed to ascribe the attentions which I afterwards received from M. Fouché, the celebrated Minister of Police. He was so good as to give me leave to shoot over his estate of Ponte Carré, which was situated about twenty miles from Paris, and the only condition annexed to the liberty was, that I should present myself daily before the authorities of the neighbouring village. At this village I had made my arrangements for eating and sleeping during my stay in the vicinity; but on the first evening of my arrival, after a day of successful sport, I was attended by one of the officers of the Duke's household, and entreated to enter the château, where I found supper prepared for me, and was assured that special orders had been

received for offering me the attentions which were due to a guest of his Grace, during my stay in the country.

I did not think myself called on to decline the offices of hospitality which had thus been tendered in a manner so little savouring of state or ostentation. I remained at Ponte Carré for about six weeks, and on my departure I acknowledged the attentions I had received, in a manner which I believe to be peculiarly French. I had the feet of a brace of partridges burnished and gilded, and sent the birds to the Duchess, with my compliments and thanks.

My chief acquaintances among the *deténus*, were the late Sir Alexander Don, Mr. Hamilton, an Irish gentleman, Mr. Fitzgerald, and Lord Boyle, the son of the Earl of Glasgow. Sir Alexander Don had always obtained access to his pecuniary resources, and in consequence, the person who was sent to him by the police, had all the manners and accomplishments of a lady. With me it was otherwise, as it was known, from the simple style in which I lived, that such an inmate was not suited to my fi-

nances ; the person who came to me professed to be able to discharge the duties of cookmaid in the family. She was by birth a German ; and having been in England with a German family, she had the advantage of speaking the language. Her name was originally Haitage ; but when she came to me, she passed by the name of Sassen. It would be difficult,—I should rather say, it would be impossible,—to reconcile an English reader to those modes of life, which in France are practised so generally, as to have ceased to be remarkable, and far less to be a subject of reproach. To me it would be matter for the deepest mortification, if it could be supposed that I should attempt to excuse, or to palliate, the immorality which seems to be sanctioned by such general usage. I claim only some degree of mitigation of the censure which the severer morals of England would impose on such an arrangement, by pleading the circumstances by which I was surrounded, and the disadvantages, approaching to necessity, in which I was placed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Annoyances of arbitrary imprisonment.—Mode of life as a *détenu*.—Embarrassments and privations.—An *eclaircissement*.—A liberal Lieutenant of Police.—Attempt to escape.—Unpleasant adventures.—Residence at Amsterdam.—Anecdotes of a tailor.—Draw a bill on my Son.—Generosity of an old turf-seller.—Am seriously indisposed. Mynheer Tolard.—Lower classes of Amsterdam.—Enmity to the French.—Transported into France.—Fortress of Ham.—Restrictions upon us.—Narrow escape.—A Jew physician.—Method of beguiling the time.—Count Hamerstaen.—English and Prussian officers.—Death of Sir Alexander Campbell.—Succeed to the estate and title.

IN the course of our imprisonment, we had on many occasions to feel the capricious hand of despotism, and many of the hardships which are known only in their severity, under an arbitrary government. If, on any occasion, the Imperial arms met with a serious reverse, it

was sure to be the precursor of some new restraint on the English prisoners. Sometimes a portion of them were sent to distant parts of the country, where they were kept in close confinement; and a great number were stationed at Verdun, which, from its situation in the midst of swamps and marshes, is considered so unfavourable to health, that the troops are regularly withdrawn from it in spring and autumn. My particular situation was sufficiently irksome, arising from my immediate pecuniary circumstances, and still more from the state of uncertainty in which I still remained, as to the fate of my property in Scotland.

Rumours like those which had first alarmed me at Aleppo, continued to reach me in my confinement, but from the extreme difficulty of maintaining an epistolary intercourse with home, or indeed a direct intercourse of any kind with friends at a distance from Paris, I was left altogether in the dark as to the real state of matters.

When my pecuniary resources were once

more exhausted, I had recourse, on more than one occasion, to the kindness of my friend Sir Alexander Don, who tendered me his assistance in a manner which I cannot sufficiently commend.

But the difficulties which were interposed by the jealous government of Bonaparte against all communication with England, had left the other *détenus* of my acquaintance in a state of destitution not less extreme than my own. It was otherwise with the woman Sassen, who, being in the pay of the Government, was never suffered to want what was necessary to support her in her humble station in society. She continued to haunt me as long as I had anything to give, and when my supplies were from time to time exhausted, she performed the functions of her office at some distance from my dwelling. The sums which I received from Sir Alexander Don were of small account to a man of his resources, which were such as to enable him to spend not less than 70,000*l.* during

his forced residence at Paris. Although always ready to anticipate my wants, it was impossible, with the feelings which I have ever cherished, to continue to live systematically on another's bounty.

I resolved, therefore, to decline his farther assistance, and to submit to the consequences of getting into debt in a foreign country. It was soon obvious what these consequences were to be. I was thrown into prison, and remained there for about six weeks in a state approaching to starvation, when I thought of requesting an interview with the Lieutenant of Police. He came to me, and I laid before him a state of my present affairs, specifying all the debts which I owed, and the small sum which would be necessary to relieve them. I also explained to him the peculiar hardship which I was suffering by the want of a free communication with home, and the uncertainty in which it left me as to my patrimonial property. This gentleman was so good as to advance me 200*l.* upon my bill, which enabled me to pay my debts, and to subsist for some time longer.

By this time the hardships I had suffered made me almost desperate, and I determined, at whatever hazard, to attempt an escape. Notwithstanding the manner in which the woman Sassen had been introduced into my house, she contrived, after long habits of intercourse, to creep so far into my confidence, as to induce me to make her privy to my intention. She entered into the idea with apparent ardour; she got me a false passport, and suggested that I should endeavour to reach the coast of East Frieze, which was her native country, and where, she said, a fishing-boat could easily be hired to carry me to the island of Heligoland, at that time in possession of the English, and only a few leagues distant from the main land. She professed to be intimately acquainted with this part of the coast, and from a readiness of belief, which others will excuse more readily than I do, I allowed myself to be persuaded of the woman's sincerity, and agreed that she should accompany me to the coast.

The funds which were necessary for enabling me to carry the measure into effect were ad-

vanced upon my bill, by M. Descot, a respectable banker in Paris, and a staunch and determined royalist, whose hostility to the proceedings of Bonaparte, enlisted his feelings on the side of the English prisoners.

We passed the barrier in safety, and I found that my fictitious passport was equally available at all the other stations where it was subjected to inspection. At length we reached a place called Caroline-Zeal, on the shores of Ost-Frieze, not far from the point which had been arranged as best suited to my purpose. We arrived at this part of the coast in the afternoon, and after I engaged a boatman to carry me to Heligoland, the woman Sassen left me for the purpose, as she pretended, of seeing some of her friends in the place. She returned to me without exciting any suspicion on my part, and renewed the protestations of her anxiety for my success. She expressed, indeed, some wish to accompany me, but suffered herself to be persuaded that such an arrangement was not advisable at the moment. It was fixed that I should embark on board the fishing-

boat at an early hour in the morning, but before the hour arrived I found myself arrested.

In such circumstances, it was usual for the satellites of the Imperial government to rob the prisoner of his money, and take possession of his papers, and I was not an exception to the general rule. I was conducted to Amsterdam, and placed in a room in the common gaol, considerably below the level of the tide. The apartment was thirteen feet long, by ten feet wide. In one corner was what is called a box-bed with a little straw in it, but without any bedding or bedclothes. The prison allowance was a basin of bad soup, so nauseous to me that I could very seldom persuade myself to taste it; a loaf of brown bread, and twopence half-penny a-day. With the money I bought a pint of milk and some tobacco, and thus I contrived to subsist for thirteen months, while the worthy individuals who had contrived the spoliation of my property were indulging in the fruits of their success.

The woman Sassen followed me to Amsterdam, but where, or how she lived there, I had no means of knowing. While she re-

mained there she gave birth to a daughter, who was called from me Jemima, and the poor girl I have never ceased to consider as entitled to my paternal regard. It would, indeed, be sad injustice, to visit on her head the offences of her mother.

In the prison at Amsterdam, I enjoyed the poor alternative of associating with a number of Dutch skippers, and other persons, who had been engaged in facilitating the escape of English prisoners, or of solitary confinement, and it will readily be believed that it was rarely indeed I did not prefer the latter. I had no acquaintances at Amsterdam, and it is very certain that if I had, they would not have been admitted to me, except in the presence of a couple of *gens-d'armes*. And yet, after all, I cannot say that I was ever seriously unhappy in this state of privation and restraint. I have often been more so, when, to all external appearance, I had far less cause for it.

I am not casuist enough to account for the fact I have now stated, but it is a fact, nevertheless. It may be, that mere physical wants had absorbed so much of my attention, as to

leave me no leisure or opportunity for reflecting on my mental grievances. I remember, that when the winter approached, the dampness and the cold of my sub-aqueous dungeon made me very uncomfortable. I desired that a tailor might be sent for. By and by a decent-looking person appeared, introduced by two *gens-d'armes*, who remained in the dungeon while he took my measure for a great coat. While he was doing this, I told him, as I was bound to do, that I could not pay him for it, and that I did not know when I should be able to pay him. He answered, that he would make the coat and send it to me; adding, that he had worked for many of my countrymen, and that he had never lost a stiver by any of them. I told him, of course, that what I wanted was a coat of the plainest materials, sufficient to keep out the cold by night as well as by day.

In due time the coat was sent me. It was brought by the tailor's wife, attended, as he had been, by two *gens-d'armes*. She made a pretence of seeing that it fitted; and, in the act of trying

it on, deposited something in my hand, which afterwards proved to be thirty florins, equal to about sixty shillings of our money. Under existing circumstances this supply was invaluable. I regret that I cannot set down the names of this kind-hearted couple, and that I must now content myself with this imperfect expression of my gratitude. I did not, of course, allow them to be pecuniary sufferers by their generosity, which has left an impression on my breast, which, while memory lasts, will never be effaced.

In the course of my imprisonment at Amsterdam, I was compelled, under various privations, to draw a bill for 100*l*. on my eldest son, which was the only sum I ever received on account of my estate at Craigforth. When the idea of drawing a bill on my son first attracted my attention, I did not reflect on the difficulty of negotiating the instrument, or even of com-

municating with a person who might be disposed to do so ; and the agent whose services I engaged on the occasion, if not very well fitted to transact a matter of business, was at least very unlikely to incur any suspicion from the most jealous of the constituted authorities.

During the cold weather, an old woman had supplied me with turf for fuel, and insisted on bringing me more than I was able to pay for. To the extent of her more limited means, she had treated me with as much kindness and liberality as my worthy friend the tailor. Her I made use of to carry a letter to a banker, which, in the regular course of his trade, he forwarded to Edinburgh for acceptance, and after a long interval, as I have said, received the money for it, and, through the medium of the old woman, paid it over to me. The services of this kind-hearted dealer in turf were not, however, performed without some personal

hazard. The letters and the money were carried in the lining of her stays, and if she had been detected, she would undoubtedly have been sent to the Forbetter-house, as something, analogous to the tread-mill, is called at Amsterdam.

After I had been sometime in prison, I became seriously indisposed, arising, probably, from change of food, and want of air and exercise. I inquired if I could have medical assistance, but was told that the regulations of the prison did not permit the facilities which would thus be obtained for holding communication with the world at large. Happily I soon recovered from an illness, which, though of short duration, was sufficiently severe.

On another occasion, I sent on some pretence for a lawyer, and from the person who came to me, a Mynheer Tolard, I also received many civilities, particularly in the loan of books, which were a great comfort to me. M. Tolard, in showing me those marks of attention, was no doubt actuated by those ordinary feelings which one man may be supposed to entertain

towards another in distress. With the worthy tailor and his wife, and the no less worthy individual who trusted me for my turf, and risked her liberty to serve me, the case was somewhat different. The lower classes among the inhabitants of Amsterdam were more hostile to the French than those above them.

A Dutchman is not easily roused, but when justly incensed, it is difficult to appease him, and it is well known, that in general there was not wanting good cause for resentment in those countries which had the misfortune to be overrun by the troops of Napoleon. When I was at Amsterdam, there were numerous instances of French soldiers being killed in the streets, in revenge for the wrongs they had committed on the inhabitants. In proportion as the French were disliked, the people conceived an opposite feeling for the English, and I was probably assisted rather from a sense of mutual injury and a corresponding hatred of our common oppressors, than from any peculiar ground of commiseration for the circumstances in which I happened

to be placed. It will be recollected that the French never trusted the natives of any country which they had brought under subjection. The system of their government may be expressed in two words—the police and the army, espionage and force. The Dutch never lost their character, but sulky and fierce, remained as if they had not become the slaves of the French.

Although no written communication, and still less any newspaper or public print, was permitted to enter the walls of the prison, it was impossible to hinder some vague idea of the great events which were then passing in Europe from reaching the inmost recesses of my damp and unwholesome dungeon. At one time, there was a great bustle in the prison, taking down names, and other proceedings, which led me to hope or suspect that the French arms had received some serious check. The idea was confirmed by the insults and ill usage which were soon afterwards heaped upon the prisoners, and at length it was announced that I and some others were to be transported into France.

What had previously been mere surmise and suspicion, was now rapidly merging into confidence and certainty.

At length the day of our departure was fixed. We were put into waggons, and escorted by a strong body of *gens-d'armes*, for whose attendance we were charged at the rate of ten shillings each per diem. Those who had any money were obliged to pay, but mine had been extorted by a more summary process, and the remittance I had received from Scotland was by this time exhausted. The period of this journey was, I think, in the autumn of 1813. Our ordinary rate of travelling was from twenty to twenty-five miles a day. We were lodged every night in the public prisons. Our route lay through Brussels, and our destination we found to be the Castle of Ham, in Picardy.

This fortress was built by Edward the Third. It is situated in a morass, and is considered very unhealthy; it was certainly most uncomfortable. At first, we were allowed more liberty for exercise than I had enjoyed at Amsterdam. On the top of the walls, or ramparts, which were

about forty feet high, there was room for walking, and also in the internal court-yard. In one or other of these places we were for some time permitted to take exercise for an hour every day, but when the rainy season arrived, the court-yard, from the nature of the ground on which the fortress was built, became ankle deep of mud, and of course impracticable. An order was issued also for restricting the walk on the ramparts within such narrow limits as might perhaps have suited the habits of some of my fellow-prisoners at Amsterdam, but could not be very agreeable to any one disposed to lounge beyond the limits of a fisherman's quarter-deck. I had not heard of this new order, and on the next occasion of my walking on the ramparts, I naturally passed the limited point to take my usual round.

The sentinel on duty was but a young soldier, and with the zeal of a devoted admirer of Bonaparte, presented his piece to fire at me ; when the unintentional trespass I had committed, and the hasty action of the sentinel, were happily observed by the commanding

officer of the fortress, who chanced at the moment to be making his rounds over the space to which the prohibition applied. This incident brought me acquainted with the commanding officer, who was an old soldier, of a very humane disposition, and, I think, one of the handsomest men I ever saw. During the latter part of my imprisonment in this fortress, I received a great many civilities from him, and long afterwards I kept up the intimacy, by visiting him in the town of Ham, where he had taken up his residence, after being superseded in his government by the return of Louis the Eighteenth, and having married a widow lady of the place, with a fortune of 1000*l.* a-year.

The numerous prisoners at that time in the fortress were allotted to different compartments of the building, and no intercourse or communication of any kind was permitted between one compartment and another. The better to prevent any promiscuous intercourse, the sentinels had orders to see that no conversation took place in the general airing ground, which

was accessible at stated periods to all the prisoners.

In the division to which I belonged, there happened to be a Jew physician, who played well at the only game which can afford lasting amusement without any sordid consideration, and which served at once to compose the mind when over excited, and to furnish a salutary degree of excitement when sinking into languor and *ennui*. I need not add, that our frequent parties at chess were to both of us a great source of relief and relaxation. There were also in the same division a Hanoverian nobleman, Count Hamerstaen, and a general officer in the French service, who had been sent here for some offence against the Government. In the other parts of the fortress there was great variety of company; about thirty Prussian general and other officers, seventeen English, most of them military men, a number of Dutch gentlemen, Jews of all countries, and a great collection of Frenchmen of every class, who had given offence to the Imperial Government.

It was not until after I had been some time in this prison, that I first heard of the death of my cousin-german, Sir Alexander Campbell, of Ardkinglas, to whom I was heir-at-law, and who was prohibited, as I had always understood, by the terms of the deed of entail which had been executed by Sir James Campbell, my great-grandfather, from altering the order of succession to this estate. Sir Alexander Campbell had by this time been more than three years in his grave, but it was not until the month of December 1813 that I received my first remittance from a rental which had long amounted to 3000*l.* a year.

The first use which I made of the money was to make as many of my fellow-prisoners happy as could be admitted to me by a comfortable dinner on Christmas-day, which from the neighbourhood of the town of Ham there was little difficulty in providing. From this period of assuming the family name and property, I was enabled to live better and to see more company.

CHAPTER IX.

Bad effects of imprisonment at the Castle of Ham.—Imperial system.—Station at Verdun.—Atrocities committed upon prisoners.—Order from the Emperor.—General Zeithen.—Louis XVIII.—Arrive at Paris.—An evil genius.—Conspiracy and law-suit.—Return of Bonaparte from Elba.—The hundred days.—Hurried into the Conciergerie.—Privations and discomforts.—Seasonable relief.—Colonel Fabvier.—The Chevalier d'Assize.—Count de Maubreul.—Battle of Waterloo.—Released from confinement.—Paris occupied by the Allies.—Discreet measures of the Duke of Wellington.—The French army.—Skirmishes.—Military Anecdotes.—The Cossacks.

ALTHOUGH, personally, I enjoyed tolerable health in the castle of Ham, it was to others a most unwholesome and fatal residence. The proportion of the number on the sick list was extreme, and the bill of mortality for the winter must have presented a list of deaths

which could hardly be equalled in a well conducted hospital for typhus. The death of his prisoners seemed to be brought about by the Imperial head of the French Government on method and system, and he could hardly have chosen more efficient instruments for accomplishing his object, than a station like Verdun, or a prison like the castle of Ham.

It was not always, however, to these slow and imperfect methods that the minions of despotism resorted for accelerating the fate of those who stood in the way of their convenience or caprice. I need not allude to such notorious murders as those of Captain Wright, or the Duc d'Enghien; I fear that many such have been committed in secret and have never reached the public ear. In the prison at Amsterdam, at an early hour in the morning, I was awoken by a noise in the adjoining apartment; it seemed to begin with a violent scuffle, the noise of which was drowned in the most frightful screams: these were followed by an interval of quiet which proved to be the stillness of death. Between the upper part of the door of my

dungeon and the stone which formed the lintel, there was a narrow crevice or opening which enabled me to see into the passage. Through this I soon afterwards saw a dead body carried forth. I thought it prudent to make no inquiries on the subject, and of course I never heard more of the transaction.

At length a great confusion arose in the fortress. An order had arrived from the Emperor, importing that all the prisoners in the castle should be marched into the interior of France. To the prisoners in general this intelligence was extremely welcome, not merely to those who were sick or convalescent, from the assurance that no change could be for the worse, but to all the inmates, from the prevalent idea that the order for our removal had only been occasioned by some unfavourable change in the aspect of the Emperor's affairs.

At Ham we were once more put into waggons, and conducted in the usual manner to Amiens, where we found a better situation, as well as a more cleanly and commodious prison than that which we had left. The journey,

however, having been effected in open waggons, at a very inclement season of the year, was a very serious affair to those who were labouring under fever and sickness, or who had not been accustomed to similar hardships. At Amiens the rumours of the advance of the Allies became daily more frequent and intelligible, until at length they assumed a distinct and palpable form, by the arrival of General Geismar, who now commands the Russian forces in the East, at the head of the advanced guard of the Allied army. The prison doors were immediately thrown open, our miseries seemed to be at an end, and passports were given us to go where we pleased.

Next day General Zeithen, the commander of the Allied cavalry, arrived. I had known him in the Seven Years' War, when his father, the celebrated Zeithen, and the favourite of Frederick the Great, was commander of the light troops. Amiens being a situation not unfavourable to health, I remained there for some time to recruit, and to take the benefit of the fresh air, after my long confinement; and during

my stay I had the pleasure of dining almost every day with my old friend Count Zeithen.

While I was yet lingering in the neighbourhood of my prison, it was announced that Louis XVIII. was to pass through Amiens on his way to Paris, and I resolved to join the royal *cortège*.

On my arrival at Paris I found myself still haunted by my evil genius, the wretched woman who had been imposed on me by the Imperial police. Finding that her official functions were terminated, she appeared resolved to cling to me and my fortunes for the future; she had even the hardihood to address herself to several of my countrymen, who had by this time arrived in crowds to enjoy the long-forbidden novelties of Paris, and pretended that she had claims upon me which would amount in Scotland to a marriage, in consequence of the manner in which she had lived with me, under the circumstances already explained.

To silence the rumours which had thus been spread among several of my friends, I was advised to apply to the constituted authorities of the restored Government; and at length I was compelled to adopt this course, in consequence of the violent inroads which the woman repeatedly made upon me at the hotel where I had taken up my residence. The magistrate to whom I applied was not slow in laying his hands upon her. He investigated the nature of her claims, and pronounced a judgment declaratory of their total want of foundation. In consequence of the breach of the peace she had committed, he was about to send her to prison, when I interposed for her protection, and gave her a sum of money sufficient to enable her to return to her own country, and live in comfort in her original station. But either from a perverse disposition, or from bad advice, she applied the money I had given her to a very different purpose. She went immediately to Scotland.

At first she was received with some degree of caution, and it was not until after I had fallen, as my friends supposed, into a net of difficulties, by contracting a marriage with a young lady of respectable family and connexions, that they thought of encouraging the woman to institute proceedings against me, for having a marriage declared in conformity with the loose notions on that subject which are said to be recognized by the law of Scotland. It was thought that the terrors of a law-suit, which, if favourable to the plaintiff, might have involved me in the consequences of a charge of bigamy, might deter me from returning to Scotland.

But here I find that I am permitting my feelings to anticipate the chronological order of events, and since I have said so much, I may as well add, that the attempt to fasten the woman upon me was signally defeated,

but I was induced to accept a fixed income of 1000*l.* a year from my Scotch estates in place of 4000*l.* leaving the remainder in the hands of my eldest son.

Like many others, I was taken by surprise on Bonaparte's return from Elba, and found myself once more a prisoner. The interval of liberty which preceded the hundred days was one continued scene of bustling recognition and leave-taking. It seemed as if all Europe had been drawn to one common centre of attraction; and among the numerous strangers who were thus congregated in Paris, from mere motives of curiosity, not a few were to be seen who had been liberated from the Imperial dungeons, after long periods of duration, and appeared amidst the general gaiety and confusion, like so many spectres, "revisiting the glimpses of the moon."

During this period I lived in the Boulevard.

I did not interest myself much in general politics, nor if I had, could I have formed any correct idea as to the probable duration of the Royal government, which at that time kept the French people in the same state of ignorance of passing events as its Imperial predecessor. At length we were surprised one morning by the well-known cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* On inquiring into the cause of the change, for on the previous evening *Vive l'Roi!* had been vociferated with equal fervour, we were told that the King had left Paris with a number of his adherents.

For some time there was no notice taken of those who had been released from confinement on the advance of the Allies, and we were not without hopes that we should be allowed to escape unnoticed, but in this idea we were speedily disappointed. The King's departure was followed by a season of profound tranquillity. If the rumours which had previously reached us could not be depended on, it seemed now as if the fountains of intelligence were hermetically closed. Not a whisper was heard of the Duke

of Wellington's situation, or of the movements of the Allies; and, as if by common consent, the subject which agitated every breast, was the only one which did not find utterance in words. In this deceitful state of quiet, I was visited one morning, long before it was light, by the emissaries of the Imperial police, and hurried away to the prison called the Conciergerie, where I was detained a close prisoner during the hundred days. At this period it was my impression, and I believe it was general among the prisoners, that we could not expect our liberation until Bonaparte should be able, after fighting some battles, to enter into new negotiations for peace. The happy termination of his career was an event which scarcely entered into our contemplation, and which, at all events, we did not presume to expect. It may seem strange that my return to prison should have come so unexpectedly upon me, but in fact it was so completely a matter of surprise, that I had not made the least provision for such a contingency, and from the moment of my arrest, any opportunity for preparation was ut-

terly denied me. I was not even permitted to take with me my ordinary personal comforts, nor even any clothes besides those in which I was allowed very hurriedly to dress myself in the presence of the *gens-d'armes*.

On our arrival at the Conciergerie, I was placed in an apartment which contained six men under sentence of death, and but for the humanity of these wretched convicts, I must have slept on the naked floor of the dungeon. They had their own beds so arranged as to spare me a palliasse on which I slept without any covering but my ordinary wearing apparel, until some time afterwards, when I was removed into a separate district of the prison, distinct from that of my first reception, which was appropriated to criminals and convicts. Although this change produced a considerable alleviation of my immediate discomforts, I was not permitted to see or send for any one, or to obtain any intelligence from without.

Among my fellow-prisoners, however, there were several individuals whose acquaintance I was very well pleased to have an opportunity

of making. Of these I shall only mention Colonel Fabvier, whose name is so intimately connected with the liberation of Greece; and a very worthy man, as well as a staunch royalist, the Chevalier d'Assize. The offence which produced his imprisonment was, that he had paid for the ropes which had been used in taking down the statue of Napoleon from the celebrated brazen column on which it had been placed, and that he had either assisted at the operation, or at least countenanced it by his presence.

Like many others of the old nobility, the Count had served in the armies of Bonaparte, but he was a great personal friend of the Countess de Choiseul, who took the lead in wearing the white ribbon at the period of Napoleon's abdication. He had previously distinguished himself by the duel which he fought with the notorious Count de Maubreul, in consequence of the inducements which were held out to him by that extraordinary character to assassinate Napoleon at Fontainbleau. The strange inconsistencies in Maubreul's proceed-

ings, can only be accounted for by a remarkable combination of roguery and insanity.

When the Allies entered Paris, in 1814, he traversed the Boulevards, exclaiming against the usurper with extreme violence; and soon afterwards, on the pretence of being charged with a mission to recover the diamonds of the crown from the Bonaparte family, he stopped the carriages of the Princess of Wirtemberg, the wife of Jerome, on their route to Fontainebleau, and seized a number of chests containing articles of value, but the property was ordered by the Royal government to be restored to the Princess. For this offence he was sent to prison during the hundred days, but obtained his liberation by publishing a libellous Memoir against the Royal government. Since that period he has not been idle; his personal attacks on the Prince de Talleyrand, and his repeated escapes from prison and attempts at suicide, have been the subject of frequent comment in the public prints all over Europe. As to my acquaintance with the Count d'Assize, he was brought to trial during the hundred days for the pre-

tended attempt to assassinate Napoleon. He was defended by the celebrated advocate Conteur, who undoubtedly risked his own life in saving that of his client and his friend.

The battle of Waterloo was fought, and the news of it had been for some days in Paris, before any ray of intelligence had penetrated the wall of the Conciergerie. At length a sort of rumour arose among the prisoners that the Allies were advancing on Paris ; but how it originated, or on what foundation it reposed, I had not an opportunity of ascertaining. It was, moreover, understood to be dangerous to discover any unreasonable curiosity on such a subject, lest we should be excluded from the ward in which the prisoners enjoyed each other's society, and condemned to the rigours of solitary confinement.

The next indication of our approaching liberty, was the sound of distant firing, and soon afterwards the shrill notes of the bagpipe came like the sweetest music to the ears of the prisoners. The gate nearest the Conciergerie was first entered by the 91st Highlanders, which

was commanded at the moment by my second, and now my oldest surviving son, Alexander James, the major of the regiment. He went immediately to my banker, who conducted him to the prison, and I had the happiness of embracing him. On the arrival of the two gentlemen at the prison, the principal concierge, or gaoler, whose place was said to be worth 3,000*l.* a-year, requested them to walk into his own apartments, saying that he would send for me. After I had had some little conversation with Major Callander, he got up and begged that I would make ready to go. To this proposal the concierge made some objection, but the banker then took up the conversation, and inquired if he wished to see a party of English soldiers in the prison. He pointed out the danger which the concierge might himself incur if he made a scene in the prison, by refusing me leave to go, observing, that for the moment all regular government was at an end, particularly that from which he held his authority, and that the city was in the possession of the troops.

To these arguments the gaoler was constrain-

ed to yield a reluctant assent. My son returned to his regiment, and I proceeded with the banker to dispose of myself in lodgings. On reaching the hotel which I had occupied at the time of my arrest, I found that I had been plundered of the whole of my baggage and effects, and the only intelligence I could obtain regarding my lost property was, that some persons had come to the hotel and carried it away.

Having been one of the first to obtain my liberty, I had an opportunity of observing the extraordinary change which took place in the appearance of the streets of Paris by the influx of the Allied troops. At the openings of the great thoroughfares, strange troops were seen in the exercise of military duty, and cannon was planted at all the principal passes. At first, the license of the soldiery was so great, that it was considered by many to be unsafe to appear in the streets at any hour in the day, and an order was issued that no one should be permitted to go from one house to another after eight o'clock in the evening, without a regular passport.

In order to preserve the peace of the town,

the Duke of Wellington, with his usual discretion, entrusted the charge of it to the National Guard ; and the public reason assigned for it was, that as these troops and the people were mutually known to each other, disturbances and commotions would, probably, be less frequent, and would, at least, be more easily quelled under their superintendence, than if the inhabitants of Paris were brought into collision with foreigners. For a day or two after the arrival of the troops, the good people of Paris were obliged to pass their evenings without the enjoyment of those spectacles which appeared to have become to them a sort of necessary of life ; but as soon as a moderate degree of order was restored, the theatres were re-opened with a great accession to the number of the spectators from the ranks of the Allied army.

The French army was still in great force in the neighbourhood of Paris, amounting, it is said, to not less than 130,000 men ; but the position which had been taken up by the Duke of Wellington on the heights above St. Cloud, was such as to place him beyond the reach of

attack. After he had thus entrenched himself, he proceeded to open a communication with the French army, for the purpose of inducing them to retire beyond the Loire; and it is said, that for the purpose of promoting this negotiation, he sent for the French Marechals, and invited them, under the protection of his parole, to inspect his position, and judge if it were not tenable against any attack which they could make upon it. The attempt was pronounced to be hopeless, and it was agreed that the French troops should retire as the Duke had requested. They did so, plundering mercilessly as they went, exclaiming against their idol, and calling him a deserter and a coward. The Prussians, it was believed, with the sanction of their veteran commander, were desirous of burning the town: they had undermined one of the bridges, that nearest to the Jardin de Plantes, and had taken other steps towards the accomplishment of their object. But the Commander-in-chief, with his usual promptitude, interfered to prevent so great a calamity,

by marching his English troops to the different points where danger was apprehended.

It is known that there were a great number of Cossacks with the Russian army, at the time that the Allies marched on Paris, and that there was a good deal of fighting in the neighbourhood of the capital, before the contest was finally abandoned by the adherents of Bonaparte. I happened to have an opportunity of seeing some of these skirmishes, and of remarking the extraordinary manner in which the Cossacks made an attack. A pulk of Cossacks consists in general of about five hundred men, and is, therefore, in some degree, analogous to our squadron of light troops. In advance of the French line, and at a distance from infantry, which the Cossacks could not have approached with safety, one or two squadrons of heavy cavalry had just formed, when a pulk of Cossacks suddenly galloped up within fifty yards of their front, and halting, made a loud, hollow, and consentaneous ha, ha, ha! of a laugh, something between merriment and deri-

sion, which was certainly well calculated to startle the French troops, at a moment when, in place of a laugh, they were prepared to receive a charge from the enemy.

The French were certainly not afraid of any attack which might be made upon them by a force which, considered as light, could not be much regarded by heavy cavalry; but the momentary feeling of hesitation, whatever it might be, made them delay their charge for an instant, and gave the Cossacks time to discharge their carbines and pistols in a style somewhat desultory and irregular, but with sufficient precision to bring down a good many men, to wound a number of horses, and to throw the French squadron into some degree of confusion. The Cossacks did not wait to see the consequences of their volley, but wheeled about, and instantaneously dispersed in all directions, leaving no definite or tangible object on which the French could make a charge. They had the imprudence, however, to follow the fugitives as they were scattered over the plain, and in the series of single combats which

followed, the Cossacks had a decided advantage, from the activity and handiness of their horses, and their own decided superiority, not in horsemanship merely, but in the management of the sabre.

I remember that manœuvres not materially different from this occurred sometimes as long ago as the Seven Years' War. A few days after the battle of Corbach, the 1st regiment of dragoon guards had some pickets advanced in front of the Allied camp. On these pickets an attack was made by two regiments of hussars, those of Bercini and Conflans; but Bercini, who commanded in person, and was an active and spirited officer, was perfectly aware that he durst not attempt to charge our heavy cavalry, since he must have known that his horses were too slight, and the hussar manner of fighting not adapted to an encounter with the force opposed to him.

They galloped up, however, to the front of the English troops, shouting and making a great show, as if they would charge. At this the temper of the men was so much irritated,

that in spite of their officers, they galloped after the enemy, who, like the cloud of Cossacks, had dispersed in all directions ; but the moment they were joined in single files, they were ready to give battle ; and although there was not a better regiment in the British service than the 1st dragoon guards, the event was just what might have been anticipated under the circumstances. The corps was completely ruined, and yet no blame was imputable to the men but their invincible courage.

CHAPTER X.

Persecutions of Madame Sassen.—Accusations.—Defence of the Author's conduct.—Unfounded calumnies.—Marry, and set out for Beauvais.—Proceed on our tour.—Mademoiselle Ficklamont.—Catholic Order of Charity.—A royal chase.—Unpleasant rencounter.—An alarm.—Admirable presence of mind.—Action for damages.—Professional dilemma.—A self-advocate.—Law of the Netherlands.—Lady Campbell.—Manners.—Public Spectacles. Return to Spa.—Aix-la-Chapelle.—Manner of living there.—Site of the town.—Burial place of Charlemagne.—Relics.—The inhabitants.—Customs.—Characters.—The Prince of Orange.—Anecdotes.—Prince and Princess of Salms.—The Prince de Ligne.—Lord and Lady Kinnaird.—Public entertainment.—Ludicrous incident.—A gallant grocer.

FOR some time after my liberation I resided at Maurice's hotel, but found myself

once more so much exposed to the troublesome visits of the woman Sassen, who made her way to my apartments under feigned names, that I was induced to remove to a lodging in the Rue de Bourbon l'Eveque, where, on her next intrusion, I sent for the Commissary of Police, who took such measures as deterred her from returning to me in person.

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

*

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

In steering my course among the shoals and quicksands of life, I know that I have been accused of numerous offences against the dictates of prudence and good management, and I have but too much reason to fear that the imputation is not altogether groundless. It has been said, however, that I had squandered the fair inheritances which had descended to me from my forefathers, and that I had even laid my hands on the moderate provision which the fortune of Lady Elizabeth Callander should have produced

for her children; and I am not ashamed to acknowledge that one of my chief motives for offering these volumes to the world, originated in my anxiety to disclose the true state of the fact, and as far as may be, to disabuse the world of some of the calumnies which have attached themselves to my name.

And here I may as well take notice of some other slanders which were circulated at my expense during my absence in the East, and afterwards while a prisoner in France, and Holland, and equally beyond the reach of reply or contradiction. At one time it was said that I had accepted the pay of Russia, at another that I was engaged in negotiations with Bonaparte; it was even asserted that I had done the work of that infamous police, of which at the moment I was the victim. In evidence of these aspersions, it was said that I had been seen at one time in French, at another in Russian uniform, although the only military dress which I had worn for twenty years before was that of the Ionian

Republic, as different as possible from any thing ever recognized in France or Russia.

It is true that there was some resemblance between the tri-colour of Napoleon, blue, white, and red, and the Venetian flag of St. Mark, blue, red, and yellow, which was substituted for the English when I took my departure from Greece. But although, when a prisoner in France, I sometimes wore my old Ionian uniform, I never had any occasion to raise a doubt as to the flag under which I had served.

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

* * * *

On the third of February, 1815, I was married to my present wife; she was then about nineteen years of age, and the eldest daughter of my old friend M. Descot, the banker, who had often assisted me in my greatest need, and did what he could to restore me to liberty and home. On the day of our marriage we set out for Beauvais, and remained there for six weeks, after which we returned to Paris, and having furnished a house in the Rue de Bourbon

Villeneuve, we set ourselves down for the winter, my son Major Callander, at the same time, occupying a house on the opposite side of the street. At the end of the season, or rather before the gaieties of the town were concluded, we set out for Compeigne, and from thence proceeded to Cambray, the head-quarters of the British army, where we remained for six weeks.

The scene was a very gay one, and afforded many excellent opportunities for judging the characters of the rival nations. The French had, as usual, the ascendancy in all that regarded the mere externals of breeding, and the young English officers had a corps of dancing masters in requisition to mould their steps into the graceful gravity of the quadrille. From Cambray we proceeded to Valenciennes, from Valenciennes to Mons, and from Mons to Brussels, staying for a week or two at each of the intermediate stations. In Belgium, I had the satisfaction to find that none of that asperity and soreness of feeling existed with reference to the English, which I had too often occasion

to witness in Paris, and in other parts of France. The inhabitants of the Low Countries are proverbial, besides, for their strict attention to cleanliness, a quality which I have always held in the highest estimation. We had another inducement to make some stay at Brussels, from the numbers of my countrymen who had by this time taken up their residence in the capital of the Netherlands, so that we were induced to hire a house, and stay there for some months.

Towards the close of the summer, we went to Spa, and in consequence of the delicate state of Lady Campbell's health, we were induced to make some stay at that delightful watering place. At Spa I had a daughter born to me, and Lady Campbell had the advantage in that interesting situation of the greatest care and tenderness from her friend Mademoiselle de Ficklamont, the daughter of the governor of the district. This young lady was a member of the chapter of Channoinesse, a Catholic order of charity, endowed by the general Government of Germany. The members are all of the highest rank, they are admitted at four-

teen years of age, and may remain during life, or withdraw from it at pleasure. Mademoiselle de Ficklamont had a separate fortune, she spoke English fluently, and French and German like the natives of either country, but her filial duty induced her to renounce all the advantages she enjoyed as a member of the Chapter of Channoinesse, and brought her to stay with the Count her father in his government at Spa.

In this neighbourhood there is a royal chase, which is partly situated in Belgium, and partly in Prussia, and as the line of demarcation is not very accurately defined, it occasionally gives rise to altercation and difference between the sportsmen who enjoy the *permit de chasse* from either monarch, and the officers entrusted by the other with the protection of his interests. I had leave to shoot from the king of the Netherlands, and had gone out on the 3d of October, soon after Lady Campbell's accouchement, to enjoy a few days sport, but had omitted to carry with me the written authority, or *permit de chasse*, which

I had obtained at Brussels. I had set myself down in a village which happened to be situated in the Prussian territory, and when I went to shoot over that part of the demense to which my authority applied, the officer in charge of the Belgic interests, accosted me in a manner which I conceived to be rude and unmannerly, inquiring who I was and where I had come from? I answered his inquiries with sufficient precision, but in a manner which probably indicated that I was a good deal ruffled. He then menaced me with an arrest, but at the moment I took no farther notice of what appeared to me to be a mere bravado, and returned to my village inn, across the Prussian frontier.

On my return to Spa, I found Lady Campbell in a state of great alarm, in consequence of a communication she had received from the governor that I had been placed under arrest by the officer of the *chasse*. The Count de Ficklamont had of course been misinformed in this particular, and as his information had probably proceeded from the officer of the *chasse*

who resided at Spa, I went with Colonel Cameron, a friend who was with me at the time, to demand of this person some explanation of his conduct. He again expressed himself very rudely, and a scene ensued on which it is unnecessary to dwell.

Some days afterwards, a party of *gens d'armes* entered my house at an early hour in the morning, and broke into Lady Campbell's apartment while I was asleep in an inner room. She was naturally a good deal agitated, and the more so from her knowledge that I was not without arms, and that I might be induced, from the nature of the aggression, to make too hasty a use of them. She had the address, however, to enter my room and withdraw the pistols before I was made aware of the cause of the disturbance. I was then carried to Liege, the seat of judicial authority, escorted by a party of nine men.

On our arrival at Liege, it was found that the writ, under pretence of which I had thus been arrested, was a mere order to appear on a future day, and not a *mande d'arret*, as the illi-

terate *gens-d'armes* had supposed. I was of course immediately liberated; but in consequence of this proceeding, which seemed to be in the nature of an action of damages, it was necessary for me to find security that I should not leave the territory of the Netherlands until the suit was ended. Mr. Cochran, my banker at Spa, an Englishman of respectability, was good enough to interpose his credit for me on this occasion, and as soon as Lady Campbell was sufficiently recovered, we went to Liege to remain for the winter.

When the cause came on for trial, it excited a considerable sensation in the district, and particularly in the town of Liege, where the angry feelings of the two parties which divided the country were often in danger of disturbing the public peace. The French or Republican party was more numerous, but the English or Monarchical had the greater share of influence and respectability, and it is probably to this cause as much as to the merits of my defence, or to the talent of the learned person who conducted it, that the issue of the suit is to be as-

cribed. The officer was cast in his action, and in consequence of the violence of his proceedings, as disclosed at the trial, he was immediately dismissed from his situation.

In choosing a lawyer to conduct my defence, I was not guided, as might perhaps have been prudent, by his political principles or by the immediate party to which he belonged, but solely by the opinion I had formed of his legal knowledge and acuteness. Happily for me, but unfortunately as it proved for my learned advocate M. Toste, the Court was disposed to distinguish between the peculiar merits of the lawyer and the interests of his client. M. Toste was a French refugee, a great admirer of Napoleon, and a man of some celebrity in his profession. In conducting my defence, he pronounced a high eulogium, as may perhaps have been his duty, on the English character.

On this, however, the Court interrupted him, observing that he had gone too far, and that such general eulogiums were not necessary to his client's defence. M. Toste was probably displeased at the interruption, and with greater

warmth than discretion immediately rejoined, that if he had said so much in favour of English character and English principles, it could only be imputed to him in his professional capacity, and as necessary in his opinion to the interests intrusted to his care; and in making this declaration he expressed himself so unguardedly in the heat of the moment, as to disclose those republican sentiments with which it was well known that the populace in general were too deeply tainted.

In this emergency I began to fear, from the apparent temper of the Court, that my interests were about to suffer through the sides of my learned representative; I therefore started up and began to address the Court in a strain which was not very agreeable to some of my auditors. I began by expressing my confidence in the justice of the Court, which arose, I said, from the character of their Sovereign, from whom all justice flowed. The plaintiff happened to be a German, and as so much had been said from the bench as well as the bar on mere national merits, I took the opportunity of

drawing a contrast between the countries to which the parties belonged, observing that while the plaintiff's countrymen were doing what they could to involve the Netherlands in anarchy and confusion, the English nation had restored to them a King for whom it was impossible to entertain any sentiments but those of attachment and respect. On this the Procureur Fiscal interposed, observing that my eulogium on the government and the King was a work of supererrogation; and I, with reference to the revolutionary principles and the attachment to the French which were still so prevalent in the country, remarked in conclusion, that in this instance, as in many others, it was not safe or prudent to speak the truth.

I have already anticipated the issue, but the expense I incurred in conducting my defence was very considerable, and in conformity to a custom which is not peculiar to the Netherlands, but which, as it appears to me, would be much "more honoured in the breach than the observance," I was not indemnified for my costs, because the suit was conducted by an

officer in the service of the crown, and originated in a transaction in which he had been engaged in his public character as an officer of the Royal Chase.

On the day after the trial, M. Toste, in consequence of the imprudent disclosure of his republican sentiments, received an order to quit the territory of the Netherlands in twenty-four hours. He was a man of great ability, and of strictly honourable feeling, and with that warmth of temperament so common to the French character, he had too hastily thrown off the advocate to assert the rights of the man, excited no doubt by an interruption which he believed the circumstances did not justify. When the order for his departure was announced to me, I naturally felt very deeply for his situation, because I knew him to be an emigrant, which is but a convertible term for a person of reduced and narrow circumstances. I could not do all I wished in the way of remuneration, but I was not ungrateful for his zeal in my behalf, nor unmindful of the service he had rendered me.

At the period in question, the judicial proceedings in the courts of the Netherlands were conducted in the French language; but while I was afterwards resident at Brussels, an order was issued by the Government requiring that the native dialect should be exclusively employed in their courts of Justice: I mean, of course, the Dutch language, for the *patois* of the country is found to vary at every stage of one's journey. At Liege it is a mixture of French and German, but at Brussels there is a greater variety in its composition, which consists of Flemish, Spanish, English, and French. Lady Campbell had a peculiar facility in acquiring the different local varieties in the course of her charitable endeavours to relieve the sick and necessitous of her neighbourhood, and in the course of a season of scarcity which occurred during our stay at Liege, she had unhappily occasion to see even more of the lower classes than was her wont. In consequence of these attentions on the part of foreigners, we had acquired some degree of popularity in the place, in

spite of the idea which had obtained that I was an Englishman, an aristocrat, and a lover of monarchical power.

It is known to be customary all over the Continent, on the occasion of giving a party, for the landlord to carry his company to the opera or any of the public spectacles, and I made it a rule, wherever I happened to be, to make myself no exception from the manners of those about me. Soon after the issue of the law-suit, I had given a party, and having bespoken a piece at the theatre, I carried my company to see it. The popular feelings at the moment were strongly excited on our entrance by a call for "God save the King," which in general was received with anything but approbation, but in this instance it pleased me to find that the ebullition of popular sentiment was decidedly in its favour.

In the spring of 1817 we returned to Spa, but as it is not a place of much resort until a later period of the season, we went to spend a few weeks at Aix-la-Chapelle, partly to fill up the time until the height of the season at Spa,

and partly to enjoy the benefit of the waters for a rheumatism, with which I had been for some time afflicted. The manner of living at Aix-la-Chapelle is somewhat peculiar. The dinner hour is two o'clock, and at the hotel where we lodged, the *table-d'hôte* was conducted on a scale of more than ordinary magnificence. On asking one day how many were seated at table, the answer was, one hundred and eighty. The expense, including a bottle of table wine, was only forty-five sous each. Lodgings in the hotel were more expensive. Our *chambre à-coucher, salon*, with two other bed-rooms for the female servants, cost us a guinea a day, but it is not the custom to pay for male servants' apartments, nor for stable or coach-house.

The company sit at table about two hours, and about five or six o'clock we were accustomed to go about half-a-mile out of town, to a house on a neighbouring hill, which Bonaparte had used as a telegraph station, to take our coffee. From thence we returned in time to dress for the assembly, which was alternately a concert and a ball, play being to each an

indispensable accompaniment. Aix-la-Chapelle is quite a German town; it is situated in a valley, and having been the burial place of Charlemagne a number of his relics are still shown there, such as his crown, which is still used at the coronation of the Emperors.

The inhabitants are not what are called the high Germans, and it would be difficult to say which faith has the ascendancy, the Catholic or the Protestant. At the assemblies the gentlemen are permitted to smoke, and very generally avail themselves of the privilege; but the practice is unknown at Brussels or Spa. In the course of the evening, the company are accustomed to adjourn in little parties from the assembly room to an adjoining coffee-room to sup, which is had on very moderate terms.

On your arrival at Spa, it is the custom to announce yourself by sending your card to all the people of the place. In many respects the mode of living is simple and moderate. The roads are so bad that people do not use their own horses, but prefer the hacks of the place, which are let out at a shilling a day. At the

assemblies, the gentlemen wear neither swords nor decorations, and the ladies appear in the simplest attire.

The Prince of Orange was accustomed to move about in a very unassuming fashion. Sitting one morning at her window in the hotel at Spa, Lady Campbell observed a young gentleman ride into the court-yard at full gallop. He seemed to be unknown to the people of the hotel, and was quite unattended. His first anxiety seemed to be for the safety of his horse, which was greatly overheated, and when he found that the people of the hotel were not so zealous in his service as he required, he sent for the groom of Lady Grenville, when it became known that the visitor was the Prince of Orange. It was not unusual for the Prince to travel in this unceremonious manner. At Namur, a frontier town, he was at one time detained for want of a passport, and was not relieved until he had sent for the Mayor, and showed him his signet.

On the occasion of his arrival at Spa, a public breakfast was given to him by the governor

and the other gentlemen of the town—a subscription breakfast. This was just before our departure for Aix-la-Chapelle. On our return to Spa we found that the Prince had also returned, and had brought with him the Princess of Orange. Soon afterwards we received an invitation to breakfast with their Highnesses at the house of a M. de Justanville, a delightful residence, in the English style, about five or six miles from Spa. M. de Justanville did not occupy this mansion, but was so liberal as to lend it to any respectable person who wished to give a party in it. The room in which we breakfasted was fitted up with a round table at each of the four corners, which, on a preconcerted signal, rose through the floor, with all the necessary arrangements for the repast.

When we were about to depart, we were somewhat surprised by the presentation of a ticket to each of the guests for the price of the breakfast; a demand, which, to the English visitors, at least, if new to the country, must have given rather an odd notion of foreign customs. Among the company present were the

Prince and Princess of Salms, the Prince de Ligne, and several English families of rank, among whom I remember Lord and Lady Kinnaird, &c. The arrangements were conducted with some attention to state. Those who enjoyed the rank of Prince sat at a separate table, attended by persons of rank, who stood behind their chairs. The Princess of Salms was a very handsome woman, and had been on the stage. She professed the Protestant religion, and the Prince being a Catholic, the marriage ceremony was, on that account, performed by the left hand. Not long afterwards the Prince became a proselyte to the Protestant faith.

Before the departure of the Prince and Princess of Orange from Spa, the inhabitants prepared an entertainment for them, consisting of races in the morning, a subscription dinner, and a ball at night. At such public entertainments it was not customary to undergo the ceremony of presentation, and I had occasion to witness a ludicrous incident which occurred at the ball, in consequence of the mixed nature of the com-

pany, and the habitual want of the form of presentation. The Prince of Orange was at the time dancing, and the Princess, very simply attired, was sitting on a sofa with Lady and Miss Grenville, in a part of the ball-room which did not infer any pretension to state. A very decent and respectable person, a grocer in the town, walked up to Miss Grenville, and asked her to dance, and on receiving an answer from the young lady that she did not dance, he put the same question to the Princess. An old courtier standing by, and observing the mistake, pulled the grocer by the sleeve, to induce him to desist, when, mistaking the caution for an imputation on his gallantry, he pressed his suit with a very laughable degree of earnestness, when some one exclaimed, to the utter dismay of the poor grocer, "It is the Princess of Orange."

CHAPTER XI.

Return to Brussels.—Company there.—Character of the *Gens-d'armes*.—Tact and address of Lady Campbell.—Treacherous proceedings at Edinburgh.—Singular verdict of the Scottish Courts.—Appeal to the English Chancellor.—Rules of law.—Hard measure.—Leave Brussels.—Challenge a Dutch Baron.—Residence at Douay—Cordiality of the Allies.—Revisit Arras, Abbeville, St. Valarie.—Recollections and Anecdotes.—Delightful society.—Proceed to Rouen.—Mode of living.—Norman *noblesse*.—Scenery of the Seine.—Road to Dieppe.—Theatrical criticism.—Anecdotes.—Contrast between Rouen and St. Valarie. — Different prices. — Provisions.—Fruit.—Beverage. — Large and small towns.

IN the autumn we returned to Brussels, and took up our residence at the hotel Bellevue, where the Dukes of Wellington and Argyll, with many others of my countrymen, were staying at the time. In this house the

table d'hôte is of the most splendid description ; and, as is usual on the continent, the whole business of the establishment is conducted by the lady, Madame Proft, who looks like any thing rather than the keeper of an hotel. In consequence of Lady Campbell's delicate state of health, and the death of her infant daughter, we removed to a house in the Rue de Bous Sauvage, where, on the 14th of November, my daughter Louisa was born.

In the observations which I made at Liege, when M. Foste was interrupted by the Court, I had occasion to remark, with some severity, on the proceedings of the *gens-d'armes*, by whom I had been arrested without any legal warrant. They wore, I said, the uniform, and carried the arms, of soldiers ; but although I had been on many a field of battle, I had never met with any of them where personal hazard was to be encountered. In allusion to the duty they had performed in reference to my arrest, I applied to them a term, which, in the French language, is somewhat opprobrious—that of *chasseguex*, which, I suppose, may be

rendered in English, by whatever is meanest in the retinue of a sheriff's officer.

I heard no more of the offence which I had thus committed against the whole body of *gens-d'armes* until the conclusion of the year 1817, when I accidentally learned that my observations, which had probably been repeated without losing much in point or keenness, had given deadly offence to the Baron Rosen, the officer at the head of that species of force in the Netherlands. I was informed that the Baron had made some remarks on my conduct at the trial, in a style which was not usual among gentlemen, and through the same channel which brought me the intelligence, I caused it to be reported to the officer in question, that as soon as any one of his station in society should espouse the quarrel of the person who had treated me in the manner of a *chassegue*, I should be prepared to take the necessary notice of it.

In place, however, of any hostile message the Baron thought fit to use his influence with the local authorities to procure a fresh warrant for my arrest, which was happily discovered by the

tact and address of Lady Campbell, before it was carried into effect. We had gone to a masked ball at Brussels, at which it was known that the Baron was to assist. Lady Campbell attended with a party of friends who were known to the chief of the *gens-d'armes*, who knew that I was on habits of intimacy with many of the party, although Lady Campbell's person would probably have been unknown to him, even if she had not worn her mask.

The Baron inquired of Lady Campbell if I was of her party, to which she answered in the negative, but said that she had often seen me at the house of her friend. He then observed, that I was of a very violent temper, and that it was not safe to permit me to be at large. This naturally excited Lady Campbell's curiosity, and she succeeded in drawing from him the fact, that he had at that moment in his pocket a warrant for my arrest, which he meant to put in force on the following morning.

The gallant chief of the *gens-d'armes*, as if to verify the appellation I had given to the half military, half civil force which he com-

manded, attempted next morning to make good his threat, but before that time, it will readily be believed that I had crossed the frontier, and Lady Campbell had the satisfaction of addressing a note to the Baron, to caution him against so hasty a confidence in future.

About this time I began to feel the effects of the combined manœuvres of the woman Sassen and her worthy coadjutors in Edinburgh. She had been advised to institute certain proceedings in the Consistory Court of Scotland, on the assumption that she had been married to me in France, the object of which was to compel me to adhere to her, as the legal phrase was, or at least to pay her damages, or aliment, at the rate of three hundred a-year. It was soon found, in consequence of the judgment which had been pronounced on my application by the proper officers at Paris, that there was no pretence for holding that she had ever been married to me. But it is said to be a rule of the law of Scotland, that if two persons live together, as married people, that a presumption of marriage will thence arise of sufficient force to entitle it to

recognition as a valid contract by the Courts of Law.

On this idea a new suit was instituted, which inferred the abandonment of the first, but although in both actions, all idea of a marriage was scouted by the Court, they came to the extraordinary resolution of giving the woman the full amount of her pecuniary demands, under pretence of the breach I had committed of their peculiar code of morality; as if the party whom it was thus proposed to reward with such distinguished liberality had not been a participator in the offence for which I was thus to be mulcted so severely. I caused the judgment of the Consistory Court to be brought under review of the Court of Session in Scotland, which is the Supreme tribunal in all civil matters in that country. But the Court of Session appeared to be guided by the same inexplicable motives which produced the judgment against me in the Consistory Court, and all that they could be prevailed on to do, was to award me something in the nature of a mitigation of punishment, by reducing the

woman's reward from three hundred to two hundred a-year.

It was not to be supposed that I was tamely to sit down under such a flagrant piece of injustice, so long as there was a higher court in the country to which I could appeal; and I have accordingly the satisfaction to record that the Chancellor of England did me ample justice, in so far as it was possible to carry his judgment into effect. But I understand it is a rule of the law of Scotland, that when a cause is carried by appeal from the Court of Session to the House of Lords, the plaintiff is entitled to what is called execution against the appellant pending the appeal.

The law of Scotland, although it admits of many singular forms, is not, I believe, so unjust in its principles, as to admit of one party's retention of the property of another, after it has been declared by the Court of last resort,

that such retention is illegal. It is accordingly provided, that the plaintiff who, pending an appeal, puts the judgment of the Court below in execution against the appellant, shall be bound to find security for the repayment of the money, in event of a reversal of the judgment.

To this moment I have never been able to ascertain the nature of the security which was found for my ultimate indemnification; but I have been told, and I cannot help thinking the information not very unreasonable, that if my interests have been neglected in a particular so important, as the finding of security, I ought to have recourse against the individuals to whom, in my absence, these interests were entrusted.

On leaving Brussels, I directed my course to the line of the Allied army, the nearest point of which I found at Douay, the seat of the celebrated college of Scottish Jesuits, where his

Majesty of the Netherlands, and still less, the commander of the *chasseguex*, could have anything to say to me. Finding myself then upon equal ground, I wrote a civil note to the Baron, to say that I should be happy to meet with him at the nearest outpost. His answer was, that he would not go out of his way to seek me, but that, if I crossed his path, he would give me the meeting. In a second note, I reminded him that he had not far to go to the nearest French post, and added that I was ready to attend him within an hundred yards of it; but to this also he gave me an evasive answer, and I have since heard no more of the Baron de Rosen, or the *gens-d'armes* of the Netherlands.

We remained a few weeks at Douay, and during that time, in consequence of some local change in the French and Allied lines, the town was given up to a French garrison. From thence we proceeded to Arras, where we stayed for a month or two, and had the pleasure of a visit from my son Major Callander, who was stationed with his regiment about

twenty leagues distant, on the same line of troops. While I had occasion to observe the nature of the intercourse which took place between the French and the Allies, I am bound to say, that the best understanding prevailed, and that those who had so recently been rivals in arms, were now as zealous in the interchange of mutual civilities and public entertainments.

From Arras we proceeded to Abbeville, and from thence to St. Valarie of which I may say that it is the pleasantest place I have ever visited. The population is not great, but it is just of the extent most agreeable for the residence of a stranger. It is situated at the mouth of the Somme, on the coast of Normandy, and was formerly a considerable seaport, having been the place at which William the Conqueror embarked when he took his departure for England. It is still the seat of a custom-house, and the residence of a commissary of marine. The inhabitants are in general opulent, the expense of living is remarkably moderate, and the English are very well received by the gentry of the neighbourhood. Our

object in going there, was to enjoy the benefit of sea-bathing, for which it is very well adapted. In early life, the Emperor Napoléon had been a frequent visitor at St. Valarie, and it was said that he had conceived a passion for a young lady of the place, who was very well known to us as a respectable matron at the period of our visit. The hotels of the place are far from being good, but it is fair to say that the charges correspond to the quality, and any one disposed to make a considerable stay, may be very comfortably accommodated in furnished-lodgings, which are to be had in the town both good and cheap.

Nothing could be more delightful than the society of St. Valarie. We found it indeed so much to our mind, that we remained the whole of the summer and part of the following winter. From the first day of our arrival, we found ourselves well received in the best society of the place; and when I speak of best, I would be understood to say that the place was happily free from all distinction of castes, and from all those ridiculous assumptions of superiority of

one class over another, which operate in so many places as a bar to all rational enjoyments. An aristocratical neighbourhood in England would be at a loss to understand how it was possible to get on in a place where the forms of presentations were dispensed with, but certainly we were not disposed on that account to depreciate the delightful society of St. Valarie. Whist and *ecarté* were the ordinary amusements of the evening, but the play was for such moderate stakes, that it could not be stigmatized with the name of gaming.

Sometimes a little *fête* was given, as by a family on a favourite birthday, or by a merchant on the arrival of a ship, and in the course of our stay, it was necessary for us also to make some return for the numerous civilities we received from the inhabitants. On one occasion, we borrowed the Bois de Rosiere, a villa in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of giving an entertainment to our friends of the place. Such was the mildness of the climate, that we had breakfast set out in the open air. After breakfast we danced, dined in the open air and

danced again, and at night-fall we had our sylvan ball-room lighted up with wax and lamps suspended from the trees.

As the ladies of St. Valarie outnumbered the gentlemen, our amiable friend Mr. Hancock, now Lord Castlemain, a very good and elegant young man, brought with him a party of the officers of the Cuirassiers d'Artois, a regiment which in England would be called a crack corps, and they certainly added very much to the spirit and gaiety of the day. At this party there were some fifty guests, and at another, which we gave in the town, there were upwards of eighty, but will it be believed, that the first cost us not more than five pounds, and the second something less than ten?

I cannot leave St. Valarie without some notice of the hospitality and attention which we uniformly received from the English Consul, Mr. Saunders, with whose amiable family we had generally the pleasure of spending our Sunday-afternoons. On these occasions, Mr. Saunders, after giving us a good plain dinner, would call in his domestics, and read to us the

English service for the day, and I must do the Catholic inhabitants the justice to observe, that when they would thus discover us at prayers, they would take off their hats and pass on with some expression of sympathy in our devotions.

From St. Valarie we went to Rouen, and passed there the remainder of the winter. In all that regarded comfort and society, and still more with reference to expense, we found this great mercantile and manufacturing town the very reverse of St. Valarie. The Norman *noblesse* take to trade, but few of them reside in the town, and in general we found the English inhabitants living together on very uncomfortable terms. In consequence of this impression, we made no acquaintances at Rouen, where we were induced to stay longer than was quite agreeable to us, in consequence of the delicate state of Lady Campbell's health. The scenery of the Seine, and the general aspect of the country, particularly on the road to Dieppe, which is a continued orchard, would no doubt have been beautiful at any other season of the year,

but speaking as I always do according to my feelings, I had nothing to regret when we found ourselves strong enough to return to Paris.

The inhabitants of Rouen are generally regarded as eminent for their skill in theatrical criticism, so much so, that when a *debutante* on the stage is successful in passing the ordeal of their judgment, he is understood to be sure of an engagement at the principal theatres in Paris.

As an illustration of one of the numerous shades of difference between French and English manners, I may mention an application which was made to Lady Campbell by a gentleman of Rouen, who was very little known to us. Two very plain-looking girls, who were known to be English, were seated in a box not far from our place in the theatre, and the object of the gentleman's question was very plainly to inquire as to the amount of their fortunes. "Ah!" said Lady Campbell, "that question is not allowable, for these young ladies are English." "Then," said the gentleman, with an expressive shrug of his shoulders, "if their fortunes may not be inquired into, there is no chance for them,

they will never go off.” The French drama is at least as pure in all that regards decorum and morality as can well be claimed for the English, but it is not to be denied that an occasional *double entendre* will make its appearance, of which no one takes any notice but those who are anxious to set up for censors of the public morals. It was with this view, probably, that the lady of an English Admiral, then resident at Rouen, thought fit to mark her sense of some slight indecorum by rising up to go away ; on which a French gentleman observed, that he perceived the atmosphere of a dock-yard was not particularly favourable to the improvement of manners.

If I praised St. Valarie as a place of residence for a stranger, I would be disposed in almost all respects to say the reverse of Rouen. In the expense alone of living, the difference is very remarkable. Fish, for instance, at Rouen was scarce, dear, and far from being good ; while at St. Valarie you might have a turbot for a shilling, and a large John Dory for a single sous. The poultry of Normandy are everywhere ex-

cellent; but a fowl, which at Rouen cost four francs, may be had at St. Valarie for one. In the large towns, again, the ordinary price of beef is sixteen sous a pound, while in the small, it is only six. At both places butter is very good, but at Rouen it is two francs a pound, and at St. Valarie twelve sous. Eggs are six sous a dozen at St. Valarie, and double that price at Rouen.

What is hardest of all is, that at Rouen, in the midst of orchards, the price of fruit is exorbitantly high, the whole of it being exported to England; and you have no table wine, as no grapes are grown in that neighbourhood, and the lower classes, who create the demand for it, make cider their only beverage. Superior wines are, of course, to be had, but at very great prices. The result of the whole is, that a large town, particularly if it be the seat of manufactures or commerce, is not to be compared with a small one as a residence for a stranger.

CHAPTER XII.

Visit Paris and proceed to Switzerland.—Lady Campbell.—Consult Dr. Stickleberg of Basle.—Pleasing society.—Architectural beauty.—The Cathedral.—Holbein's Painting.—Celebration of High Mass.—The inhabitants.—Houses.—Mode of fishing.—Characters.—Dr. Stickleberg.—Anecdotes.—The Prince Carignan.—Manufactory of Ribbons.—Anecdote.—The Ex-King of Sweden.—Anecdotes of that Prince.—Remove to the Castle of Burglegen.—Teutonic order of Knights.—Population of the Forest.—Visitors.—Mode of living.—A Banditti.—Design upon the Castle.—Baths.—Mineral spring.—Leave Burglegen.—Character of the Peasantry.—Peculiar Costume.—The Carnival.—Correct morals.—Contrast in French and German Character.—Hunting.—Grand-duke of Baden.—Anecdote of the Grand Veneur.

FROM Rouen, as I have said, we proceeded to Paris, early in the spring, and Lady Campbell's health not being yet confirmed, we resolved to make a short stay there, and afterwards to proceed by easy stages to Switzerland. I was induced to adopt this step, as I was told

by my solicitors, that my return to Scotland might endanger the success of the cause which was then in progress through the Courts. At Langres we were induced to remain for a day or two, to see its manufactures of hardware and cutlery. It is the Birmingham and Sheffield of France, and in the ancient civil wars it was, from its elevated situation, considered a place of strength, and was often an object of contest.

On this route the post-roads are execrable, and the comforts of the post-house have no tendency to reconcile you to the fatigues of the journey. At Befort, the frontier town, we were teased about our passports, and advantageously reminded of the freedom of travelling in England. At length, on reaching Basle, and consulting with Dr. Stickleberg, a celebrated Swiss physician, as to Lady Campbell's state of health, we resolved to remain there for some time, and with that view hired a furnished house in the town.

On farther acquaintance, we liked the society of Basle and its neighbourhood so well, that we remained there for eighteen months. It is

needless to attempt a description of a place so well known as Basle. The town is divided into two equal parts, that on the Swiss side being considerably higher than the other. The cathedral is an object of curiosity, not merely from its architectural beauty, but from the historical recollections associated with it, and particularly from its having been the place of meeting of the celebrated Council of Basle. In the church, which we were accustomed to attend, a degree of liberality and a spirit of conciliation was observable, well worthy of imitation in a country which has hitherto exhibited a very different disposition. In the morning, high mass was performed with all the insignia of Popish worship. In the afternoon, the crucifix and the altar-piece were concealed by a curtain, and the Protestants assembled in their simpler fashion to say their prayers and hear a sermon. The cloisters of the cathedral are ornamented with Holbein's celebrated Dance of Death; and, indeed, the outside of every house with any pretension to gentility, is plastered over, and painted al fresco with some

historical subject, in general connected with the liberties of the country.

On the Swiss side of the town, the inhabitants had a peculiar mode of fishing. The houses on that side are built on a precipice, which varies from twenty-five to thirty yards high. A long pole is fixed on the brink projecting over the water; at the end is a pulley, to which a net is suspended, from ten to twelve feet square, the corners of which are kept apart by slender pieces of wood. In the centre of the net a quantity of bait is thrown, consisting sometimes of worms and sometimes of bread, in which aniseed has been mixed to bring the fish over the net, which is so suspended as to have a considerable hollow in the centre. It is then lowered into the river, and sunk in such a manner as that the circumference or upper part shall be about two feet below the surface of the water; and it is drawn up once a day, at the proper interval before dinner, when it seldom happens that the family is disappointed of its regular supply of fish, which consist of pike, trout, roach, and dace, with the

carp of the Rhine, so much celebrated for its delicacy. The usual daily produce of one of these domestic nets may be from four to five fish, which weigh, on an average, from three to four pounds each.

One of our first acquaintances at Basle was the physician Stickleberg, a man considerably advanced in life, who had a peculiarity of humour which entitled him to the name of a *character*. In place of a hat, for instance, he wore a head-dress in imitation of the calpack of a Turkish interpreter to a foreign embassy; yet he was fastidious in observing that other people in their dress attended to the reigning mode. At our table, one day, he met an old friend of his own who wore a queue, and after rallying him repeatedly on the singularity of this appendage, he made some errand out of the room, and returning in a short time with a pair of scissors, had his friend's queue cut off before his return was observed.

Dr. Stickleberg was very much teased by the professional consultations of a lady of a certain age, who believed herself afflicted with

a thousand suppositious complaints, and would assail the Doctor with a history of the new symptoms of her case, whenever and wherever she met with him. The bridge of Basle is, of course, a great thoroughfare, and in passing along on some occasion which called for dispatch, he found himself detained by his hypochondriacal patient, and with a view to disengage himself from the expected attack, he said that he was sorry to see her look so poorly, and begged her to show him her tongue. With this the lady readily complied, but the Doctor desired to see more of it, and begged her to shut her eyes close, that she might do it the better, saying at the same time that she must not interrupt him with any remark while he was engaged in examining it. On this he instantly proceeded on his walk along the bridge, and left the lady to be gazed at by the crowd, until she thought fit to open her eyes to the practical joke of this eccentric old man.

Another of our early acquaintances was the Prince Carignan, who was then quartered with his regiment at Nunningen, a fortress about two

miles from Basle, which has since been dismantled on terms of an article of the treaty of peace which had been stipulated by the Swiss Confederation. Although a person of great fortune and connected with the first families of France, as well as heir to the kingdom of Sardinia, the Prince of Carignan was assiduous in his attention to the duties of his regiment. He was, besides, a great admirer of the English, which was probably the cause of our making his acquaintance so early; he had all the soldiers of his regiment under the discipline of a school, conducted on the principles of Bell and Lancaster, and on such account he was stigmatized by his countrymen with the taint of *Anglomanie*. He was, nevertheless, a very intelligent and agreeable young man, and added materially to the attractions of Basle.

In the town of Basle there was a great manufactory of ribbons:—of those black ribbons which are worn so universally by the peasant women of Germany. The head of the establishment, as is customary in Switzerland, was of a noble family, and, besides attending to his

manufacture, he had taste and leisure for the enjoyment of the fine arts. His residence in Basle was princely, and on one occasion he received a visit from the Emperor Joseph the Second, who, with an Imperial licence, inquired where he got the money to purchase such a collection of pictures?—"By my ribbons," was the answer. "And where do you sell them?" rejoined the Emperor. "In the Austrian territory, and all over Germany," the merchant replied. At this the Emperor seemed surprised, and desired his secretary to note it down, observing, that there must be some want of enterprise in his own dominions, when it was found necessary to send to Basle for an article so extensively used.

The Ex-King of Sweden, who chose to be styled the Colonel Gustafson, had been resident for some years at Basle at the time of our arrival, and as he was received by an English family of our acquaintance, we had frequent opportunities of meeting with him. He was a person of various accomplishments. He could speak with fluency all the modern languages

recognized as polite; he played with great taste on the pianoforte, and had considerable pretensions to literature; but I need not add that his character was marked by some extraordinary peculiarities. There was, for instance, a hotel in the town with a sign-board, on which the figures were painted, and gave the name to the house, of the Three Kings. Riding out with me one morning in my carriage, the Colonel begged that we might not pass through the street in which this hotel was situated, as he could not bear to look on these phantoms of kings. It was evidently unpleasant for him to be reminded in any manner of his abdicated dignity; and when addressed by any one by the title of Majesty, he would express his dissatisfaction in terms which did not correspond with the ordinary courtesy of his demeanour. A lady of our acquaintance took a strange delight in moving him on this subject; and Lady Campbell having a dog she had named Oscar, this lady would never cease speaking of the animal by this offensive name in the Colonel's presence. His occasional air of distraction was always

painfully aroused by any allusion of this kind, so that Lady Campbell was obliged to explain to him, that the dog had been called from one of the ancient kings of Scotland, long before she had heard of the Prince of Sweden, of the revolutionary dynasty.

When the Ex-King came first to Basle, he was observed to have no money, but had evidently a large supply of diamonds, which made him an object of plunder to several persons with whom he unfortunately associated. At the time of our acquaintance with him, his annual stipend of thirty thousand crowns was regularly paid, so that he could afford to live in a style superior to the rank which he had chosen to assume. He had been accustomed, however, to a laxity of morals, which made him amenable to the remarks of the good people of Basle; who, if they are not better than their neighbours, are at least more correct in the outward observances of morality, and who do not even permit the appearance of those public women on the street, which are so much a nuisance in other great towns, but who are

strangely defended by some ingenious casuists, under pretence of their being a protection, a sort of fire-escape, or safety-valve, for public morals.

Colonel Gustafson made a visit to England while we were at Basle, and on his return we found that he was deeply offended with his Majesty for making him wait when he went to pay his respects at Carlton-House. He had walked away without seeing the King; and his mind had taken such a colour from the circumstance, that he chose to think me a spy upon his conduct, and assigned that as a reason for his final departure from Basle. When he first came to the town, he had himself entered as a burgher, and applied for the appointment of Commandant of the Artillery; which, however, was not given to him. It is but justice to say that he was uniformly disposed to make himself agreeable. He mixed a good deal with the inhabitants, and frequently dined at the *table d'hôte*.

After the birth of my daughter Menie, which took place at Basle, on the 28th of May, 1820,

we went to reside at the Castle of Burglegen, which is situated in the Black Forest, about eighteen miles from Basle, and near to the small town of Candern. This castle was of much larger dimensions than we had any occasion for, and the principal apartments were splendidly fitted-up with leather hangings, some with gold and others with silver ornaments, in a style becoming the rank of the Teutonic order of Knights, to whom it had originally belonged. There were no chimneys in the mansion; every apartment was supplied with a stove, and those of the public rooms were of very large dimensions and richly inlaid with ornamental china. There was no furniture in the castle when we hired it for the summer, but the portraits of the Teutonic Knights still remained on the walls; and in every room there was a dial, the hands of which, by some ingenious mechanical contrivance, for which the Germans are so remarkable, were moved by a great clock which was situated in the attic story.

The Teutonic order of Knights has nume-

rous establishments, called Confreries, of which the Emperor of Austria is the Grand-Master, and from one of which, in ancient times, the descent of the King of Prussia is traced. They are half military, half monkish in their nature, and when the Castle of Burglegen, with other houses of the order, fell by an extension of territory under the dominion of the Grand-Duke of Baden, who is a Protestant Prince, he bought up these houses, and allowed the chapels connected with them to remain for the use of the Catholic population by which they were generally surrounded.

Having hired as much furniture at Basle as would furnish ten or twelve of the apartments, we went to Burglegen, as I have said, to remain for the summer. The rent which was asked was only 6*l.* a-year, but I was bound to pay a stipend of 12*l.* to the Catholic Curate, who lived in one corner of the castle while his chapel was in another. We went occasionally on Sunday morning to hear mass, and after vespers we had always the curate and any friend who might be with him, to dine with us in the

afternoon. The peasantry were allowed in the evening to dance in the hall; and to make them enjoy themselves, I was in the habit of sending them a few loaves of brown bread, a cheese, and a small barrel of the white wine of the country, which made them all exceedingly happy, at a very trifling expense. When he thought they had danced enough, the Curate would go down to the hall to bid them disperse, which they generally agreed to do; but would sometimes affect a little good-natured rebellion at his authority, when I would intercede for half an hour's addition to their amusement.

In consequence of these indulgences, we became great favourites among the population of the forest, so that, when I desired to invite a few friends to a shooting-party, I could have two hundred men to beat the wood for us. Game was to be had in the forest in great variety—wild boar, stag, and roebuck, hare, pheasant, and partridge. The roebuck approached so near to the castle, that I have shot them from the garden; and one had become so tame as to be fed

at the window by the hand. Hedgehogs were also numerous, and several of them ran about the house like domestic animals.

The Castle of Burglegen had long been a sort of show place in the country, so that I sometimes found myself surrounded with visitors whom I had never before seen. From the elevated site on which the castle had been placed, it was necessary for a stranger to put additional horses to his carriage, if he meant to drive up to the court-yard. I was induced, from that circumstance, to keep my own horses in the village, at the bottom of the hill. The house stood on a level of two thousand feet above that of the Rhine, so that the cold reached us at an early period of the season, and we had snow both in May and October. The house itself could be seen from the windows of the *table d'hôte* at Basle, and the view from it was most extensive, including parts of France, Italy, Swabia, Wirtemberg, and the Swiss Cantons, besides the Duchy of Baden, in which it was situated.

From the number of our visitors, we had one

day in the week which was regarded as a public day, and those who came were expected to stay to dinner. This was an arrangement consistent with the manners of the country, and was conducted at a very inconsiderable expense, the cost of living being so very moderate. River trout was plentiful, mutton of the best quality $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound, and all kinds of game in abundance. There is no red wine grown in that country, but the best white wine is not more than twopence a bottle, and that was what we took ourselves, and offered to our visitors. We had also a very pleasant spirit, and of great strength, called kirsawaser, made from the wild cherries which grow in the forest in great profusion.

When we went to Burglegen for the summer, we did not give up our house in Basle, but went there occasionally for a day or two, when we wished to visit our friends, or had any business to transact in the town. Neither gold, nor paper-money, is used in that district; and I found it necessary, in returning one evening from the town, to bring home with me in the

carriage a sum of 250*l.* in silver crowns. The weight, of course, was considerable; and on my arrival at the village where the horses stood, I employed a man who lived there to carry it up for me to the castle. This man had often carried my bag when I went out to shoot, but was not otherwise known to me. He had, however, a sister-in-law who was a personal favourite of Lady Campbell, and she had come to her Ladyship to say that the man had been heard to talk of the money, and she was under great apprehensions for our safety, as she said there were dangerous people in the forest. I had always fire-arms in my bedroom, and did not adopt any new precaution in consequence of the warning.

Lady Campbell, however, was more sensitive; and in the middle of a night in the month of September, she insisted on getting up, as there was certainly some strange person moving in one of the adjoining corridors. On the servants being called and a search instituted, an armed man was found in one of the uninhabited apartments; and on being brought to me, he

produced a mandate from the Baron —, the Grand Veneur, or chief huntsman of the Forest, requesting me to receive a body of thirty men who had been sent for our protection, and in the hope also of being able to apprehend a band of robbers who infested the neighbourhood, and who it was known had a design on the castle. These thirty men were well-armed with carabines and pistols, and being joined by about twenty stout young men from the village, they remained in the castle for three or four nights, at the end of which they succeeded in arresting a number of persons who were strangers in the neighbourhood, and who could not give us a satisfactory account of themselves.

This circumstance probably served for our subsequent protection; at least we did not afterwards hear of any thing to alarm us, although the good people of Basle were not sparing in their remarks on the excessive hardihood of our venturing to reside in such a dangerous neighbourhood. Some were even charitable enough to insinuate that I could only be actuated by a wish to keep a young

wife out of sight. We treated such remarks as they deserved, and returned to Basle when the winter was considerably advanced.

I should have mentioned, that about eight miles from Burglegen, there was a watering-place, which had been used for such in ancient times, as there were Roman baths still remaining in good preservation. There was a natural hot bath of a high temperature, and a separate mineral spring, cold and ferruginous. It is still resorted to as a bathing-place, but from Burglegen it was not very accessible, as there was no road for wheels, and the track in some places was only practicable for the asses of the country.

Before leaving Burglegen, I must say something of the peasantry of the neighbourhood. They are, in general, very good-looking, and their food consists of bacon with cabbage, and a kind of paste, like maccaroni, with a good deal of milk. Their kitchen utensils are of wood, and are not kept in the best possible order. They are passionately fond of music and dancing, and scarcely attempt any movement but

their national waltz. It was quite refreshing, as the phrase is, to hear them singing concerted pieces on their return home from the castle, accompanied by the reverberation from the neighbouring hills.

The peasant girls dress like those of Switzerland, with the yellow *chapeau de paille*, ornamented with broad black ribbons, a large bow on the one side of the head, and strings hanging to the heel. The bodice is of black velvet, with a stomacher embroidered with gold or silver. The sleeves are of fine linen, reaching near to the elbow, and tied up with a band. The neck and bosom are quite covered up with black velvet, which is attached to the bodice with silver chains. The petticoat is of black worsted stuff, bordered with red. The waist is long, and the petticoat is sharp cut as far as the waist extends; and as it scarcely reaches to the knee, the exhibition, with coloured stockings, green, blue, or red, embroidered clocks, and high-heeled shoes, is somewhat remarkable, particularly in a quick-timed waltz. I should have added, that over the plaits of the petticoat a

white muslin apron is worn, ornamented with red flowers; but certainly the *tout ensemble* from the waist upwards is far from being favourable to an advantageous display of the female shape.

At Basle, which is a very pretty town, and was to us a most agreeable residence, there can scarcely be said to be any thing like public amusement. They have indeed a theatre where German plays are performed, but it seems to be discountenanced on religious principles, and is very little frequented. Their only public amusement appears to be the carnival, which is common to almost all great towns of the Continent. At Basle it begins with a procession of children in their holiday-dresses. On another day, they have an exhibition of all sorts of trades; but what chiefly amused us, was the representation of some ancient legend or romance, each individual assuming a separate character, and the whole concluding with a tilt and tourney, in imitation of the ancient chivalry of the country. The carnival is concluded by a masquerade, with a ball and supper, the only

exhibition of the kind which is known throughout the year. For it must be observed that the sumptuary laws of Basle are still in full force. They are not indeed prohibitory, but merely laxative, a certain price being paid for any special indulgence. Thus, a fat bachelor of our acquaintance, of rather unwieldy proportions, was prevailed on to give a dancing-party, and on applying for the necessary licence, the authorities of the place were almost driven from their propriety by the ludicrous inaptitude of the worthy applicant.

The peasantry in the neighbourhood of Basle, particularly in the direction of Germany, have some points of resemblance with the lower classes of Wales and of the Highlands of Scotland. They are equally pure in their morals; their courtships are conducted with the same degree of unhesitating confidence between the sexes, and very much in the same manner, nor are the instances less rare than among our own primitive mountaineers of such confidence being abused. Farther up in the scale of society, the influence of good morals and correct feeling is still more

observable. The domestic arrangements are more like those of England than perhaps any other country in Europe. Marriages are contracted more from feelings of attachment than from mere motives of convenience, and it is seldom, indeed, that man and wife are seen to live apart. With all these good qualities, there is mixed up in the manners of the people a large proportion of state and ceremony. As compared with the French, the Germans, in general, are certainly less polite, and perhaps in small matters less obliging; but in goodness of heart and warmth of feeling, as well as in the common offices of hospitality, they have greatly the advantage of their more polished neighbours.

As a trait of character, I shall here suggest an instance to which I have seen many parallels in France. A friend visits you after a walk of some extent, and you ask him with an air of great concern, if he would not desire to have some refreshment? Your friend accedes to the proposal, and then you rise with great alacrity, ring the bell, and order the attendant—to open

the window, or you inquire with great earnestness if he has dined. If happily his answer prove to be in the affirmative, you have an opportunity of exclaiming at the greatness of your disappointment; but if not so satisfactory, you must not in any case be disconcerted, but let it be understood that you have dined an hour ago. The French mode of living affords some excuse for this apparent want of hospitality. Dinner is seldom cooked at home, but a pittance is procured from the nearest *restaurateur*; whereas, in Germany, a cold pie or a ham is always in readiness as a *succedaneum* for better fare; and on visiting a friend in the country, the lady of the house will probably assure you how much she loves hunting, it gives her such an appetite!

CHAPTER XIII.

Proceed to Carlsruhe.—The reigning Prince.—Courts of the Principality.—Baron de Baner.—Strange requisition.—M. de Bignon.—The Princess Tacher.—Margravine Dowager of Baden.—Advantageous proposal.—Visit to Wirtemberg.—Mr. Cockburn, the British Minister.—Mr. Hamilton.—Recommendation to the Court of Admiralty.—The Author's scheme approved by the Grand-Duke.—Its abandonment.—A curious vehicle.—Princess of Wirtemberg.—Death of Bonaparte.—Mysterious occurrence.—Eugene Beauharnis.—King and Queen of Bavaria.—Prince Louis of Wirtemberg.—The wife of Marmont.—Curious anecdotes.—Residence and mode of life at Baden.—Anecdote of General Donadieu.—Hire a house at Bairstaen.—Strasbourg.—German Theatre.—Repair to Nantz.—The King of Poland.—Return to Paris.—M. Baille.—A Scotch Attorney.—Return to England.—Family Anecdotes.

IN the spring of the year 1821, we took our departure from Basle, and proceeded to Carlsruhe, which has become a town of some consequence, and the chief residence of the Court of

the Grand-Duchy, in a manner somewhat extraordinary. The grandfather of the reigning Prince resided at Carlsbade, and erected a tomb for himself of the simplest construction, at an unfrequented spot, about ten or twelve miles from the place of his residence ; but he was so greatly beloved by his subjects, that many of them built houses around his remains, and thus a town has arisen of considerable external beauty, which the successors of the favourite Grand-Duke have since adopted as the residence of the Court of the Principality.

On our arrival at Carlsrhue, we hired a part of the house of the Baron de Baner, the Grand Referendaire to his Highness the Prince, and took immediate possession of our apartments. Next day we received a visit from an officer of some rank in the service of the Government, who made a thousand apologies for his intrusion, but trusted that it would be convenient for me to leave the territory of the Grand Duchy in twelve hours. On inquiring into the cause of this unexpected requisition, I found that it arose from a circumstance so trivial in

its nature, that it may excite surprise how so much consequence should be attached to it. On examining my passport, it was found to bear the signature of a M. de Bignon, one of the secretaries in the department of what is called *les relations extérieures* of the French Government. The document had been submitted to the Grand Duke's inspection, and his Highness had perhaps some reason to be offended with a mandate under the hands of the same under-secretary, M. de Bignon, who had formerly been in the service of the Ex-Emperor Napoleon, and who, it seems, had retained his employment under the restored Government.

His Highness's uncle having rebelled against the authority of Bonaparte, that great manufacturer of kings and princes removed the reigning Prince from the government, and having placed the nephew on the vacant throne of the Principality, condescended to give him to wife the Princess Tacher de Beauharnais, the niece of the Empress Josephine. This lady was not very cordially received by the proud Germans of a Court whose pretensions to purity of

blood are in some degree supported by the splendour of their connections ; for it will be recollected that the Margravine Dowager of Baden was the mother of an Empress and of two Queens, those of Russia, Bavaria, and Sweden. The Imperial mandate was supported by arguments which the Grand-Duke found irresistible. He married the Princess of the new dynasty ; but from a feeling of repugnance to a connection which had thus been forced upon him, he never consummated the marriage.

This fact having reached the ears of the Emperor, a fresh mandate, with the unwelcome signature of M. de Bignon, was dispatched to the Grand Duke, whose compliance with the requisition is evinced by the living evidence which every almanack records. Through the intervention of the Baron de Baner, the circumstances attending the passport were explained to his Highness's satisfaction ; and no other obstacle arose to our enjoyment of the society at the Court of the Grand-Duchy, unless, indeed, I except the period during which I was confined to bed by a severe fever, which did not permit

me to rise for thirty-three days. My recovery, however, was so rapid, that within five days after I was able, in Parliamentary phrase, to get upon my legs, I went out and shot a hare and a woodcock.

In the course of my residence at Burglegen, two circumstances occurred to me as capable of being turned to individual as well as national advantage. The oak timber in all those parts of the Black Forest which I had an opportunity of traversing, had every appearance of being well fitted for the purposes of naval architecture, and from the vicinity of many parts of this extensive forest to a navigable river like the Rhine, it seemed to me that an arrangement might be entered into which might at once be advantageous to the naval power of Great Britain, to the interests of the Principality, and to my own advancement.

I had observed, also, the extraordinary cheapness of the white wine of the country ; and conceiving that it might be beneficial for all parties to have it burnt into brandy, so as to convert it into an exportable commodity, I resolved to

communicate on both subjects with the two Governments immediately interested. With this view, I went to Wirtemberg to wait on Mr. Cockburn, the British Minister at that Court, and the brother of Sir George Cockburn, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Of Mr. Cockburn, I am bound to say, that he received my communication in a manner becoming his station as the King's representative, and that in entering with me into the investigation of the circumstances, he discovered a high degree of ability.

I have also the pleasure of bearing my testimony to the talents of Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary to the Embassy, with whom I had frequent opportunities of consulting on the subject. After they had carefully examined the details of the plan, they recommended that I should submit the statement I had prepared, with the result of my calculations, to the consideration of the Board of Admiralty. Having followed their advice, I received a communication from the Board, in which a proper acknowledgement was made for the trouble I had

taken, and a desire was expressed for farther information on the subject.

I then waited on the Grand-Duke, and opened the idea to him, when I found, as I had fully anticipated, that the proposal was particularly agreeable to his Highness. He offered to have the necessary roads between the forest and the river immediately constructed at his own expense, as well as the temporary accommodations which would be necessary for the use of the workmen employed in cutting down the timber and preparing it for the floats. The most convenient size for the floats was found to be about two hundred feet long, fifteen feet broad, and six or eight feet deep. A raft of these dimensions could be navigated as far as Rotterdam by five men, for whom a hut erected on it would serve as a temporary residence. Such floats are guided by long poles, assisted by a sort of helm, and are carried along by the ordinary current of the river. In cutting down so large a quantity of timber as the wants of Great Britain would require, it occurred to me that the useless parts of the tree might be ad-

vantageously employed as fuel in the other part of my plan, which was the conversion of the white wine of the country into brandy.

The whole project hung so well together, and seemed so feasible in all its details, that we were all extremely sanguine about its entire success. But the trees, with every external evidence of freshness and vigour, were found after numerous trials to be, with a small proportional number of exceptions, not exceeding two or three per cent., unsound at the core. The great limbs of the tree were in general healthy and sound, and I have reason to believe that much valuable timber might be found in the forest, well suited to supply that desideratum in ship-building which naval architects distinguish by the name of knees, and for which an inferior and more expensive substitute of iron is, I believe, sometimes employed in the dock-yards of several nations of Europe.

After cutting down many hundreds of the finest-looking trees in the forest, I had the mortification to find that I could not conscientiously report to the Lords of the Admiralty

that the measure would be beneficial to the British Government; and the result was, that I incurred a very considerable expense in experimenting on both branches of a scheme which did not ultimately prove successful. The conclusion at which I had arrived, I of course communicated to the Ambassador at Wirtemberg, and to the Government at home; but it has not been found necessary to afford me any remuneration for the expense I incurred in this national undertaking.

From the recent rise of the town of Carlsruhe, it is of course erected in the modern taste, with wide streets, pavement for pedestrians, parallel lines and right angles. It is celebrated for its manufactures of various kinds, and particularly for that of carriages and for jewellery. I bought a close carriage here of the principal coach-maker, who had never fewer than eighty in his magazines, ready for sale. The price of that which I bought of him, with crane neck, trunks, and harness complete for two horses, was only ninety pounds. Three years afterwards, when about to return to England, I sold

it, when yet on its first wheels, and without having ever cost me a shilling of repairs, at a deduction of only twenty pounds from its original cost; and it will be seen in the sequel, that it had carried me over many hundred leagues, and over roads which were not always constructed on the most approved principles of Mr. Macadam. The jewellery of Carlsruhe is celebrated all over Germany; and the principal manufactory in the town was so considerable as to afford constant employment to upwards of two hundred male and female artizans. The head of the establishment makes an annual tour to all the principal towns in Germany, for the sale of his jewels and trinkets.

In the course of the year 1821, I was a good deal annoyed with rheumatism, and was recommended to try the waters of Baden for relief. The principal spring is a chalybeate, and the natural heat is so great, that two hours are necessary to cool the bath to the ordinary degree of temperature. The neighbouring country is highly picturesque, and the celebrity of the waters is so great as to attract to them

visitors from all the nations of Europe. The Princess Beauharnais, Duchess-Dowager of Baden, was then resident at the castle, which is singularly situated on a rock of peculiar form, and had formerly been the seat of one of the tribunals of the Inquisition.

During the season of our stay at the waters, the little Court of this Princess was in deep mourning for the recent death of Bonaparte, and her seclusion was, in consequence, so great as to prevent her from seeing company. Her Highness had had three children, two Princesses and a Prince; but the latter, who stood in the direct line of succession, was murdered in infancy in a mysterious and shocking manner. A pin had been driven into the child's head, and his nurse disappearing at the same time was never more heard of.

At Baden, on this occasion, I saw for the last time the Prince Eugene Beauharnais, a young man universally admired for his amiable qualities. He had married a Princess of Bavaria, and proved himself worthy of the connection, by the whole of his conduct, as a

husband and a father. It is said that he was offered the same situations in France under the restored government which he had previously held under that of Napoleon, but that he declined them, from respect to the memory of the man who, whatever his faults, had at least been his greatest benefactor.

He then retired to Bavaria, where, by the erection of schools of art and other seminaries of education, he made himself so very popular among the inhabitants, that the Prince Royal discovered such a jealousy of his influence, that Prince Eugene had taken the resolution of retiring from the kingdom with his family and suite; but the peasantry laying hold of his carriage, unharnessed his horses, and with a sort of friendly violence carried him back to Munich, where he died of apoplexy a few years ago. When we saw him at Baden, he had become a good deal *enbonpoint*, arising probably from his less active habits, but he seemed to be in the enjoyment of perfect health.

The military talents of Prince Eugene are known to have been of a high order, and the

respect which was universally entertained for his private character, was followed by a corresponding degree of regret at his untimely death. The Prince, at the time we saw him, was, like his cousin the Duchess-Dowager, in deep mourning for the Ex-Emperor, and appeared very unaffectedly to lament the loss of that extraordinary character.

Among the other visitors at the baths of Baden, were the King and Queen of Bavaria, and the Prince Louis de Wirtemberg. The King had the character of being a very worthy man, and walked about very much like a farmer, with the single distinction of a bit of ribbon at his button-hole. The Prince of Wirtemberg engaged so eagerly in the prevalent amusements of the place, that he lost not only his last shilling at the gaming-table, but his horses, carriages, and every moveable he possessed.

There was also at this period at Baden the wife of Marmont, La Marechale Raguse. She was the sister of La Fitte, the banker, and was so devoted in her loyalty to the Emperor Napoleon, that she separated from her husband,

calling him a traitor and a monster of ingratitude, for having given up the capital of France to the Allies. She then went to reside at the Court of Bavaria, where she kept a splendid train. The *fourgon*, or carriage, which contained her travelling wardrobe, was so peculiar and magnificent in its construction, as to be an object of general curiosity.

At Baden the hour of dinner is two. The *table d'hôte* is daily crowded with visitors of all ranks from kings and princes downwards; and if you have strangers with you, it is the custom to carry them there, and to say so to the waiter, that they may not be troubled with any application for payment, which is at the moderate rate of two shillings and sixpence a head, including a bottle of the small white wine of the country, the *vin de marquise*, which is certainly very pleasant to drink. During dinner, an excellent band of music performs in the orchestra, but the Germans in general do not sit so long at table as the French, so that the repast is always concluded by four o'clock. Germany is everywhere celebrated for its vegetables, and,

for an inland town, the supply of fish at Baden is tolerably good. Game is abundant, and the ordinary viands presented at a good table are of course not wanting.

At five o'clock the company proceed to the assembly-rooms to take their coffee. Afterwards there is a promenade in an area fitted up with shops, pretty much in the style of the arcades of London and Paris, but not covered like them overhead. Twice a week there is dancing, and every evening cards. A *table d'hôte* is also prepared for supper, but this you may attend without the previous notice required of your intention to appear at dinner. Many of the visitors, indeed, go a short way out of town to sup in the open air on craw-fish and raw Westphalia ham, which are both very good. It is the custom to live very much in the bedroom, as it formerly was in Scotland, and to receive company there, particularly at breakfast.

Formerly in Scotland, as now on the Continent, the bed-room was much the handsomest apartment in the house. And I remember to have been present at a great fête which was

given by an aunt of mine in her bed-chamber. An amusing incident, arising out of this practice, was told me by a friend, who, I dare say, will not be displeased to see it recorded in these pages. General Donadieu, distinguished in the French army for his bravery and talent, was known to be occasionally the object of a curtain-lecture; and our friend having witnessed a scene which would probably lead to some discussion of rather a piquant nature between the General and Madame, was next morning in waiting to learn the result.

He was shown into the lady's bedroom, where the General and his wife, in an elegant dishabille, were enjoying themselves over a luxurious breakfast of oysters and white wine. It is to be observed that one of the two French beds was unoccupied, and when our friend was hastily retiring from a scene which he thought, with justice, had better have been kept sacred from the intruding eye of a stranger, the General called out to him, "*Entrez, Capitaine Campbell, et voyez notre félicité conjugale!*" If an English reader shall be disposed to open

his eyes a little wider than usual at a fact of this kind, I would strongly recommend to him the Horatian maxim of *nil admirari*.

At the end of the bathing-season we returned to Carlsruhe, and, for the sake of retirement, hired a house at Baerstaen, a beautiful spot about four miles distant from the town. The nobility and gentry are accustomed to go frequently to Baerstaen to admire the scenery, and the *bourgeoise* to enjoy, particularly on Sunday evening, their favourite amusements of music and dancing. It was at Baerstaen, on the 28th of January, 1822, that my son Edward was born. We remained at this place until the spring was somewhat advanced, and then proceeded to Strasbourg, on the banks of the Rhine.

Strasbourg is one of the places which I would not recommend as a residence for an English visitor. The inhabitants are neither French nor German, but a sort of hybrid race, partaking neither of the politeness of the French nor the cordiality of the German character. They are constantly at variance among themselves, which is not a circumstance particularly agreeable to a

stranger. The climate, besides, is far from being salubrious, if I may judge from the looks of the inhabitants, or from the marshy miasmata which constantly arise from the low flat ground in the midst of which the town is situated. The soil is so exceedingly soft, that the fortifications themselves are known to be gradually sinking. Being a frontier town of considerable strength, it is constantly protected by a numerous garrison of all kinds of force, infantry and cavalry, artillery and engineers, that add considerably to the gaiety of the beautiful walks, called the Mall, or Mael, on the banks of the Rhine, which are much frequented by the inhabitants in general.

Many of the merchants of Strasbourg are extremely opulent, and of course are able to command all sorts of luxuries. The famous pies of Strasbourg are sent to all parts of Europe; and when you send one as a present, you may adopt the ordinary terms of civility, by praying that it may be accompanied by a good digestion. The chief ingredient in the pie is goose's liver, and the manner of giving it that delicious bitter so

highly prized by the epicure, is somewhat revolting to ordinary ideas; the anus of the wretched animal is first sewed up, and being placed before a fire, the poor goose is made to eat of rice and milk until it acquires such a liver complaint as to swell that viscus to the most immoderate dimensions. It is then supposed to be in the highest perfection, and fit to become a component part of one of these celebrated *patés*, which are to be had at various prices from two guineas to ten.

There is a French as well as a German theatre at Strasbourg. The German is better filled, but the French is more handsome in its proportions, and more highly ornamented. Each spectator is accommodated with an arm-chair, which is covered with rich green velvet. The decorations in general, and the arabesque paintings by which the front is ornamented, are in very good taste. The cathedral at Strasbourg is a noble Gothic pile, distinguished by the extraordinary height of its spire. A great manufacture is carried on in the town in steel ornaments and bead fancy-work.

After we had been about three months at Strasbourg we left it for Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, so celebrated for the residence of Stanislaus King of Poland. The town is very beautiful, but the nobility are extremely poor, and as a residence, I must say that we found it rather dull.

Towards the end of 1822, we returned to Paris, and some time afterwards took up our residence at Cressi en Brie, about fifteen leagues from the capital. Here we occupied a very pretty house, and enjoyed the society of the curate M. Bailli, who had been an emigrant, and had lived for some time in Edinburgh with the present King of France, when Count d'Artois. We found him a very amiable man, and we were pleased to see how much he enjoyed his game at billiards with a brother of Lady Campbell, who was at that time residing with us on a visit. When the season of 1823 had sufficiently advanced, I resolved to visit the waters of Bourbon, which were recommended to me for the rheumatism, with which I continued to be affected.

While there, I had the pleasure of a visit from my son, Major Callander ; and at his suggestion I then executed a deed, in virtue of the powers conferred on me by his mother's contract of marriage, by which I made an equal distribution of Lady Elizabeth's fortune among her five children. The money had been originally secured over the estate of Lord Dungannon, a near relation of the family.—The waters of Bourbon were, as usual, attended by many people of fashion, but I had suffered so extremely from rheumatism, that I could not mix much in général society. Lady Campbell having come to me in the course of the summer, we returned together to Paris at the end of it, and remained there during the following winter.

At the close of the season of 1824, we took a country house at Meudon, in the neighbourhood of St. Cloud, which is much resorted to by people of fashion, the aspect of the place being perfectly rural, the houses covered over with vines and rose-trees. From Meudon we went to visit Fontainebleau and Chantilly, and at the end of the summer returned to

Paris, where we again spent the following winter and spring.

While I had thus been resident in the neighbourhood of the capital, I learned accidentally, through the medium of my banker, that an attorney had arrived from Scotland on the subject of the proceedings which had been instituted against me in the Scotch Courts, at the suit of the woman Sassen. Latterly I had learned that this person, Mr. John Gray, who is, I believe, a practitioner of the law in the inferior Courts of Scotland, had been employed by my ordinary solicitors to conduct my defence before the Court of Commissaries, analogous in some degree, as I understand, to the Consistory Courts of England; but I have never been able to understand what was the special object on this occasion for Mr. Gray's journey to Paris.

Some time afterwards I had a casual interview at Meurice's Hotel with another member of the Gray family, but I have no reason to believe that he was, at that time at least, at all connected with my affairs. The worthy banker

who had seen the elder Gray, had often recommended it strongly to me to return immediately to Scotland, and assume the active superintendence of my own affairs,—an advice which I have only to regret that I did not act upon much sooner than I did. He now renewed his recommendation, with the addition of such arguments as induced me to make immediate preparations for following his advice. In the mean time I received a letter from Mr. Gray, the object of which was to dissuade me from the proposed journey; but I preferred to pursue my resolution, and in the month of June 1825 I arrived with Lady Campbell in London, and took up my residence in Fludyer-street, Westminster, in the neighbourhood of my worthy solicitor Mr. Richardson. As Lady Campbell had never been in England, she resolved to leave the two youngest of the children behind her, bringing only her eldest daughter Louisa along with us. We left the little boy with the nurse to whose care he had been entrusted when first brought to Paris. She had previously held the office of second nurse to the infant daugh-

ter of the Duc de Berri; and Edward still remembers with gratitude the kind attentions of his mamma and papa Parmentier. Our youngest daughter was left in the care of a personal friend of Lady Campbell; and I should have added, when speaking of Rouen, that we had been induced to leave Jemima Campbell, the daughter of the woman Sassen, in the care of Madame Forestier, a very respectable person of that city, from whom, under some false pretence, she was soon afterwards spirited away by her mother.

CHAPTER XIV.

Appeal from the Scottish Courts.—Repair to Portsmouth.—Summer Residence.—Conduct of Major Callander.—General Lyon.—Colonel and Miss Arnot.—Naval Officers on the Station.—Launch of the Royal Charlotte.—Captain Campbell.—His character and family.—Ludicrous Associations.—Anecdotes.—A Frenchman.—Madame de Choiseul.—Return to Town.—Legal delay.—Application to the House of Lords.—Letter of Lord Gifford.—Judgment pronounced.—Scotch proceedings.—New Claim.—Mr. Gray.—Arrive in Edinburgh.—Conclusion.

By this time the appeal which I had brought from the judgments of the courts in Scotland, was expected to come on for discussion in the House of Lords, and I was induced on that account to remain for some time in town. At length, when I was released from farther attendance by the prorogation of Parliament, I was recommended by my medical attendants to go somewhere to the coast for

the benefit of sea-bathing; and having heard that I could enjoy the bath in perfection at Portsmouth, with the advantage of agreeable society, I resolved to go there, and found it for the summer months a very pleasant residence.

While yet in London we had the pleasure of a visit from my son Major Callander, who, having heard that my agents in Edinburgh had caused my drafts upon my rents at quarter-day to be dishonoured, was good enough to come to me with the offer of being my banker until I could ascertain the cause of this unexplained proceeding on the part of the persons entrusted with the levying of my rents. At Portsmouth it was very agreeable to me to find my near relation General Lyon in the command of the troops at that station. His father, Captain Lyon of the grenadiers of the 35th regiment, who was killed at Bunker's Hill, had long been my intimate friend. In Colonel Arnot of the Engineers, and Miss Arnot his sister, we had other agreeable acquaintances. Although Miss

Arnot had resided the greater part of her life so near to London as Portsmouth, she had, strange to say, never yet been in town, but the first intelligence we heard of her on our arrival next summer in Scotland was dated from Rome.

We met with the greatest attention from the naval officers on the station, who were uniformly polite and gallant, giving us a variety of fêtes on ship-board. In particular, I am bound to mention the officers of the *Lord Melville*, and the *Victory*, which at that time carried the Admiral's flag, and which is immortalized in the annals of the navy, as having been the scene of the last victory and the death of the hero of the Nile.

During our stay at Portsmouth, we witnessed the launch of the *Royal Charlotte*, which is constructed with a round stern, according to the new and scientific principles of Sir Robert Seppings, and carries 130 guns. She is, perhaps, the finest as well as the largest ship in the world. Among the gentlemen of the Navy whose acquaintance we had the pleasure of making at Portsmouth was Captain Campbell,

whose name has already been mentioned in connection with that of General Donadieu, and who is better known in the West of Scotland by the title of Glencleugh, the name of his place in Ayrshire. In the navy, he is honourably distinguished as a gallant officer, and in private life as the father of a fine family and a most amiable man.

One of his sons was about to enter the army, and another the church, under the highest auspices; and of the whole family I may say with truth that I never saw children better brought up. With a good deal of that sort of pride which leads a man into the best society to which he can have access, Captain Campbell has a peculiar vein of humour, which sometimes leads to very ludicrous associations. At a *table d'hôte* at Rouen, a French officer made a tolerable guess at Captain Campbell's profession, in consequence of observing that he eat in a less leisurely manner than the Frenchman was accustomed to. "May I presume to ask, Sir, if you belong to the navy?"—"No," said Captain Campbell; "a physician, in haste to see

my patients.”—Soda-water was one of the novelties introduced by the English into France at the time of the peace. A Frenchman, who affected a great knowledge of chemistry, was curious to know the composition of the beverage; and Captain Campbell, carrying him into an apothecary’s shop, administered first a due proportion of the alkali, and afterwards a corresponding quantity of the acid, allowing the two elements to combine and effervesce in the agitated stomach of the too inquisitive Frenchman.

Another of Captain Campbell’s practical jokes on our French neighbours occurred at Dover. A friend of his who had never been in England, arrived with him in the packet, and to try the extent of his credulity, he carried him to one of the principal hotels, under pretence of its being a private house; and the orderly deportment of the servants, and the air of quietness and respectability which pervaded the whole establishment, as compared with the houses of public entertainment on the other side of the Channel, left

no other difficulty to surmount but the size of the house, and the extent of the accommodations. These, however, the Frenchman did not fail to explain by a reference to the exalted idea he had formed of the superior opulence of the English nation; and when the master of the hotel appeared, as is customary, to superintend the service of the first course at dinner, he did not fail to compliment Captain Campbell on the respectable appearance of his principal domestic. He carried his friend soon afterwards to Portsmouth to show him the British fleet; but what he did show him was a collection of those splendid trophies which the immortal Nelson and his gallant brethren in arms have added to the wooden bulwarks of Great Britain.

Of a piece with the mortified feelings of the Frenchman were those of Madame de Choiseul, the celebrated Royalist, who had been expatiating to Captain Campbell on her devotion to the house of Bourbon. In his turn, the Captain, with corresponding sentiments of loyalty, pronounced an animated eulogium on his present

Majesty, at that time the Prince Regent, in which, with true French politeness, the Countess readily acquiesced. "Then," said Captain Campbell, pulling out a handsome snuff-box, on which there was a portrait, "for the love you bear me, salute the miniature of so great a Prince." The Countess, on the impulse of the moment, applied the *papier maché* to her lips. "But look what you have done!" rejoined Captain Campbell: "It is the portrait of the usurper Napoleon which your Ladyship has condescended to kiss!" Whether in resentment for such a trial of her feelings, or from mere *gaieté de cœur*, it is not necessary to inquire—the unfortunate portrait was immediately consigned to the flames, and the Captain found himself a snuff-box out of pocket by the joke.

At the approach of winter we returned from Portsmouth to London, resolving to wait with a reasonable portion of patience for the expected judgment of the House of Lords. Beginning at length to fear that the Session of Parliament was to pass without a decision, I men-

tioned to Mr. Richardson, that I thought of addressing a letter to the Lord Chancellor, to represent the hardship I suffered by delay. The worthy solicitor was petrified at the proposal, and endeavoured to dissuade me from so dangerous an expedient by all the terrors of a contempt of the House. But having taken my resolution, I was not afraid of being seduced into the employment of any language which could be regarded as disrespectful. I assured the noble Lord who at that time acted as Speaker of the Upper House of Parliament in the hearing of Scotch appeals, that I was deeply impressed with the conviction that I should ultimately obtain a just and equitable judgment in the court of last resort. But I took the liberty of adding, that if the Session was permitted to elapse without a decision, it was not to be expected at my time of life that I could hear of it in this world, and that it would be rather a long journey for the messengers of the House to communicate it after I had passed "that bourne from whence no traveller returns." This letter I addressed to Lord Gifford about the middle

of May 1826, and soon afterwards his Lordship was pleased to move the following judgment.

“ Die Martis, 23^o Maii, 1826.

“ It is declared by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Respondent having failed to establish her marriage, is not entitled, under either of the summonses, to recover aliment or damages against the Appellant. And with this declaration, it is ordered and adjudged, that the several Interlocutors of the Commissaries in Scotland, of the Lords Ordinary in Scotland, and of the Court of Session in Scotland, so far as they are complained of in the said appeal, and so far as they are inconsistent with this declaration, be, and the same are hereby reversed : And it is further ordered that the cause be remitted back to the Court of Session in Scotland, to proceed further therein, as is consistent with this declaration, and as is just.”

During my residence in London, I had been repeatedly counselled by Mr. Gray, the Scotch attorney, not to proceed to Scotland, in consequence, as I understood, of a new proceeding

which had been taken against me in the name of this unhappy woman. This new claim was founded on the fact of her having carried away her daughter from Rouen, and having deprived her of the advantages of education which I had designed for her under the care of Madame Forestier. She pretended to have a right to a large sum for the child's support; and having instituted an action for the purpose of determining the merits of the claim, it was represented by Mr. Gray that my defence would be more advantageously conducted if I did not return to Scotland. Reflecting, however, on the repeated cautions I had received from my bankers in Paris, I resolved at all hazards to carry my former intention into effect, and, having taken our passage on board a steam-packet, we soon found ourselves in Edinburgh.

After we had fixed ourselves in furnished lodgings in Princes-street, Lady Campbell felt herself unhappy at the great distance which now intervened between us and our younger children. She determined on going for them in person, and she made such good use of her time

that she was again in Edinburgh in eleven days from her departure. Although Scotland and its inhabitants were now almost as new to me as to the rest of the family, after an absence of not much less than thirty years, yet, having found Edinburgh in many respects a very desirable residence, particularly as respected the education of the children, we resolved to make it our permanent abode.

THE END.

ERRATA.

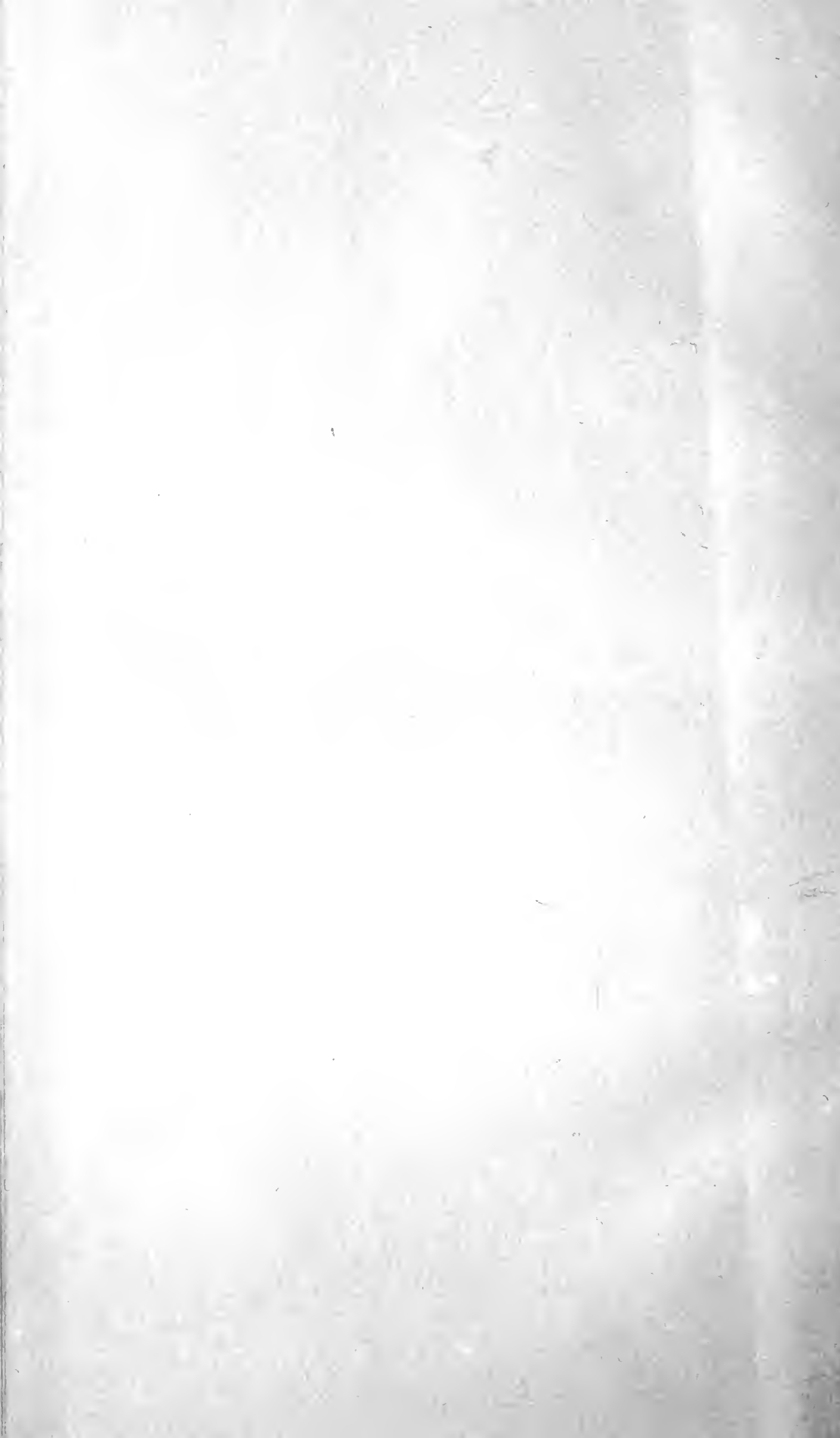
VOL. I.

Page 274, line 12 from bottom, *for* “ comme,” *read* “ connu.”

Page 293, line 13 from bottom, *for* “ 15th Hussars,” *read* “ 13th Light Dragoons.”

0

LONDON :
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Dorset-street, Fleet-street.





CT
788
C23A3
v.2

Campbell, (Sir) James
Memoirs of Sir James
Campbell

**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
